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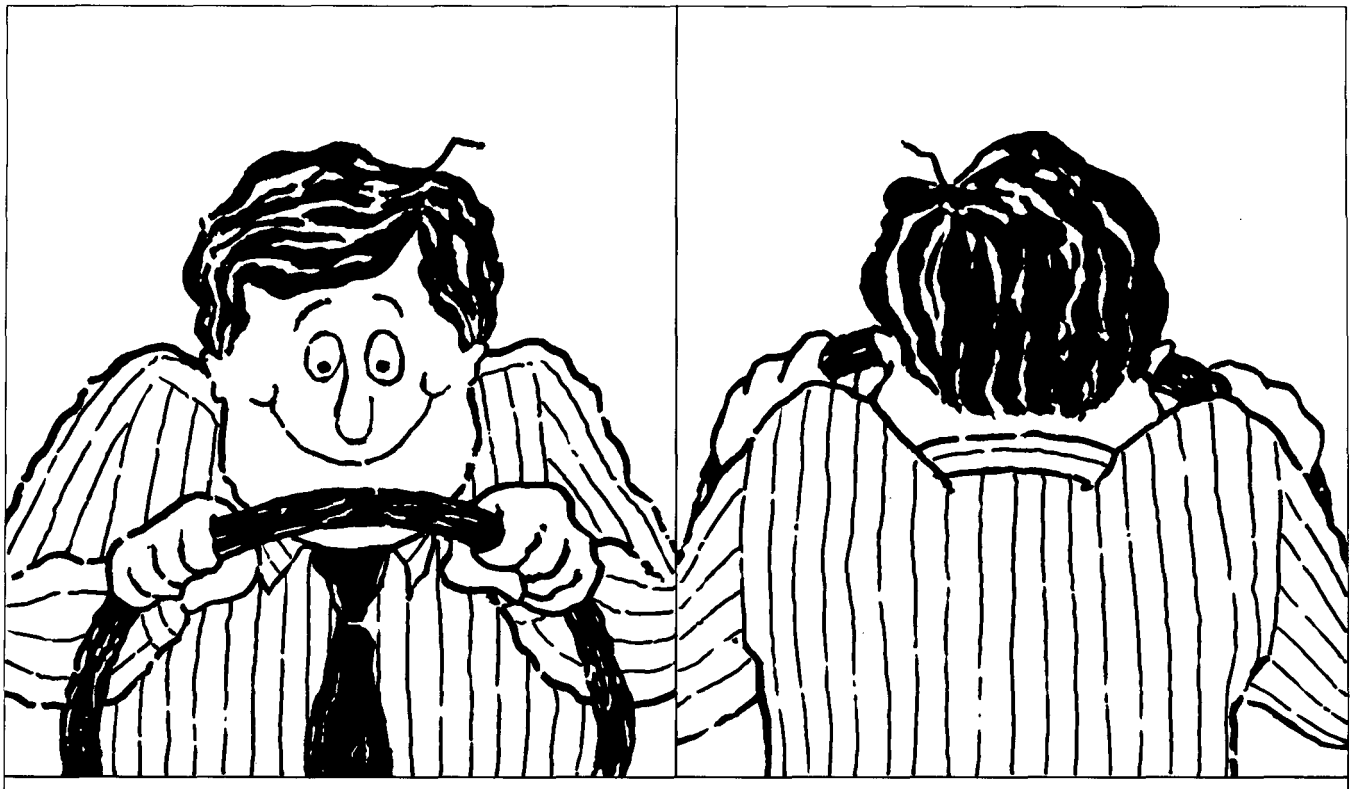

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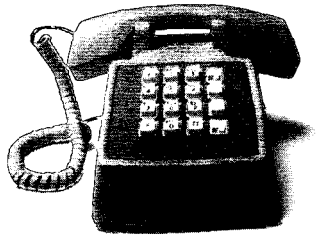

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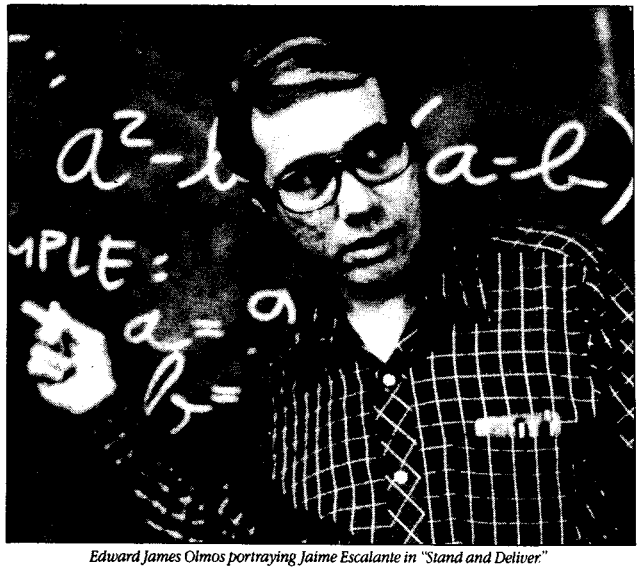

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CALIFORNIA Journal

VOLUME XIX, NUMBER 7 JULY 1988

The freshman class 280

It takes several terms before a lawmaker begins to acquire power and prestige. And, according to a survey of nearly 50 legislators, legislative staff and lobbyists, six of the current, 19-member freshman class are off to a good start. By A.G. Block

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A group that includes Marian Bergeson, Rookie-of-the-Year Delaine Eastin, Bev Hansen, Quentin Kopp, Rebecca Morgan and Jackie Speier.

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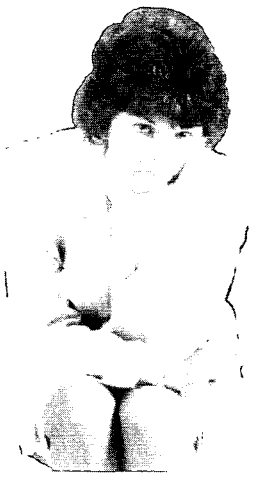

On the cover: A Capital class of freshmen women, left to right: Assemblywoman Jackie Speier, Senator Rebecca Morgan, Assemblywoman Bev Hansen, Assemblywoman Delaine Eastin and Senator Marian Bergeson.
Photo by Rich Pedroncelli
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UP FRONT

Now you know why the Senate is considered more sedate than the Assembly. In these outtakes from the photo session that produced this month's cover, Senators Bergeson and Morgan (seated left and extreme right in the first photo) were bemused observers to the more raucous antics of their Assembly colleagues: Delaine Eastin, Jackie Speier and Bev Hansen (extreme left, middle and seated right).

Civics Class Pop Quiz. When is a tax increase not a tax increase?

A) When it's a "temporary minimal adjustment."

B) When the press says it is.

C) When George Deukmejian says it isn't.

D) All of the above.

The answer, at one point or the other last month, was A, B, C, and D. The governor decided the state's $1-plus billion budget shortfall needed to be fixed with "temporary minimal adjustments" that his own finance director conceded were not "temporary," that taxpayers hit with them wouldn't consider "minimal," and that the state Republican Party chairman said were not "adjustments." Not one single Repubican was willing to step forward during this election year to carry a bill containing these "adjustments." And word came down that the Bush presidential campaign was not too thrilled with these "adjustments" because Bushies plan to thump Democrat Mike Dukakis in case he needs to make "adjustments" of his own in Massachusets, which also has a budget shortage. So, the governor did the only rational thing. He took his plan back and blamed the press for calling it something he said it wasn't. And he said he'd never do anything like that again unless everyone agreed to call them what he wants them called. Some Democrats were the first to go along, many of them promised to call these things "adjustments," and said they were sorry anybody had ever called them anything else, but by then it was too late. And worst of all for the governor, some people were bringing up the words "flip-flop," and "Jerry Brown-like" in the very same paragraph with his name. But we're sure the governor's next semantics lesson to the press will straighten that out, too.

Officials at the state Department of Commerce came up with a creative way to move a conference table into their office at Sacramento's Senator Hotel and at the same time gain a little publicity for themselves: They hired a crane, which lifted the table to a window in the department's sixth-floor office. Along the way, the crane smashed the table into a fire-sprinkler head, setting off a fire alarm and causing evacuation of the Senator, located across the street from the Capitol. Seems the table was part of a program to promote California business. According to Don Jenkins, the department's administrative chief, the table was made from California tan oak to prove that the wood could be used to make furniture. Unfortunately, no one thought to measure the size of the Senator's stairwell or elevator, and the table turned out six inches too wide. Hence, the crane. And how does the department plan to remove its custom-made table when and if it moves out of the Senator? You guessed it; through the window.

A new campaign tactic emerged in the 61st Assembly District primary election: ganging up on the guy in the lead. Republicans John Lewis, David Hansberger and Tim Johnson all got together to finance a mail hit-piece attacking frontrunner Paul Woodruff, the eventual winner, as "just too super to be true." Unfortunately for the attackers, it seems they got their broadside ready a little too quickly, because some of the attacks on Woodruff, an aide to Assemblyman Bill Leonard, had to be blocked out with a felt pen before the brochure could be mailed. Woodruff is now likely to become, at 28, the youngest member of the Assembly because the district is solidly Republican.

How to win friends, Jack O'Connell style. Never one to let the opportunity for a good quip go unattended, the Carpinteria assemblyman recently one-upped presidential contender Michael Dukakis.

"You're too young to be an assemblyman," Dukakis observed when introduced to the youthful-looking assemblyman, who's 37, during a pre-primary swing through California.

"You're too short to be president," countered the 6'4 O'Connell, without

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missing a beat.

Let's see, if Dukakis wins in November, O'Connell should be in line for ambassador to Outer Mongolia.

(Linda Egan, Santa Barbara)

Frank this. John Echeveste is a confused man. Echeveste lives in California's 34th Congressional District, represented by Democrat Esteban Torres. Last month, Echeveste received a consumer information guide sent out from the Congress at taxpayer expense. Only, the mailer wasn't from Torres. It was from Republican Mickey Edwards, who doesn't represent the 34th Congressional District. In fact, Edwards doesn't represent any district in California. He represents a district in Oklahoma. According to Echeveste, both Edwards and Torres use the same mailing house, and a computer hiccup sent mail flying to the wrong districts. Naturally, Edwards' cover letter said the booklet was being sent to help taxpayers get the most for their money.

County count. The number of California counties remains at 58 after voters in San Bernardino County soundly defeated a proposal to separate the vast desert into a new Mojave County. There have been several moves for new counties in the past few years, and all have failed. This one was given a better chance because there was some thought that residents of the urban San Bernardino Valley, which contains 90 percent of the county's population, would just as soon be rid of the contentious desert denizens. Turns out, they weren't, and the proposal went down by a 2-to-1 margin.

A book and its cover. Sometimes, you can judge a lawmaker by how others picture him. For instance, an invitation to state Senator H. L. Richardson's retirement dinner featured the conservative legislator in five poses, surrounded by a few of his favorite things: a duck, a fish, a rod and reel, a pistol, a rifle, a nuclear power plant, a billy club, handcuffs and a badge, and the gas-chamber chair. The only pose that depicts Richardson smiling is one with him holding a bullwhip.

The monster that would not die. Tom Hayden has once again been bitten by the memory of his 1972 trip to North Vietnam. This time, the reminder came from a U.S. Senate candidate in Rhode Island named Richard Licht. Hayden sent Licht a $250 contribution, but the candidate returned it after meeting with Vietnam War veterans from his home state. "They're [veterans] very supportive of me," Licht told United Press International, "and they've asked me to return the money and we will."

Meanwhile, Hayden's wife, actress Jane Fonda, apologized over national television for the North Vietnam trip. Appearing on the June 17th edition of ABC's "20/20" program, Fonda said her trip was meant to help end the war. "But there were times I was thoughtless and careless about it," she said, adding an apology to veterans and their families.

Bill Ihle, the man who made Health Services Director Ken Kizer a household name but failed to give Caltrans' Leo Trombatore any more prominence than a freeway overpass, is leaving state flackery for the private sector. He's going to be an assistant vice president for Beverly Enterprises, one of the nation's largest nursing-home providers. Ihle wants to be clear his departure is not due to dissatisfaction. He's doing it for the money.

Cheap publicity department. Democratic Assemblyman Phil Isenberg, a candidate for reelection of course, earned himself a little inexpensive publicity during Sacramento public radio's recent on-air pledge-a-thon. The Sacramento lawmaker issued a "challenge," offering to donate $500 if station listeners pledged an equal amount. Not just any station listeners, but members of the Capitol press corps in general and *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter Rob Gunnison in particular. Gunnison's mother and other friends phoned in pledges for what rapidly became known as the "Rob Gunnison Bailout Fund." Isenberg had some fun, and also had his name mentioned about a dozen times.

What's in a title? Each issue of *Freedom*, the monthly magazine published by the Church of Scientology, names a "human rights advocate of the month." A few years ago, Democratic state Senator Art Torres won the kudo. The June 1988 award went to another California state senator: Republican John Doolittle, not exactly Torres' ideological twin. According to the magazine, Doolittle received the nod because he is "a leading champion of individual rights." The accompanying article cited the Carmichael legislator's

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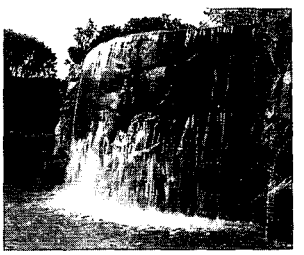

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tough law-and-order stance and his attempts to pass various AIDS-related bills. It neglected to mention that the state Fair Political Practices Commission had slapped Doolittle with a hefty fine for various campaign shennanigans which violated the individual rights of his 1984 opponent, former Senator Ray Johnson.

You know what we meant. In last month's article on legislative voting patterns, we said that Republican state Senator Don Rogers had earned a 97 percent "liberal" ranking. We meant 97 percent "conservative." We doubt that anyone, any place, at any time, ever, would conclude that the Bakersfield lawmaker is, or would ever be, 97 percent liberal.

But do we know what they meant? The state Chamber of Commerce recently wrote several lawmakers to oppose a bill (AB 3666) by Democratic Assemblyman Tom Bates of Berkeley. Bates' bill would allow unannounced inspections of businesses by private parties to check on illegal waste discharges. According to the Chamber, the bill is not necessary. "Under existing law, unannounced inspections can be made if the owner consents and in emergency situations," wrote a Chamber representative. Of course, it's tough to make an unannounced inspection if you first have to get permission from an owner.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

"There is no necessary connection between the desire to lead and the ability to lead, and even less the ability to lead somewhere that will be to the advantage of the led."
— Bergen Evans

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Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Freshman members of the Assembly, left to right: Lucille Roybal-Allard, Terry Friedman, Trice Harvey, Chris Chandler, Jackie Speier, Bill Duplissea, Delaine Eastin, Paul Zeltner, Bev Hansen and Tim Leslie. Missing: John Burton, Richard Polanco and Charles Quackenbush.

THE L

Women stand out in a

By A

They are regarded as the cream of the freshman class — an elite six out of 19 lawmakers now serving first terms in the Assembly and Senate. They cut their political teeth in local government. Three are Republicans, two are Democrats and one is an independent. Five of the six are women. A score of legislators, staffers and lobbyists say Senators Marian Bergeson, Quentin Kopp, and Rebecca Morgan and Assemblywomen Delaine Eastin, Bev Hansen and Jackie Speier have outperformed their freshmen colleagues.

And although *California Journal* did not rank members of the freshman class, it was clear that Democrat Eastin was the consensus choice for "Rookie of the Year."

The impact of a freshman class of lawmakers on state government usually does not emerge until its members have served several terms. For instance, it may take perhaps a decade to determine whether those who entered the Legislature in 1984-86 will shine as brightly as, say, the class of 1964-66, which included Willie Brown Jr., Bill Campbell, Ken Cory, March Fong Eu, Bob Moretti, David Roberti, Pete Schabarum and Pete Wilson.

The largest class of the 1980s — the 38 members who came to the Senate and Assembly in 1980-82 — has produced a statewide officeholder (Controller Gray Davis), a member of the Los Angeles City Council (Gloria Molina), successive Republican Senate caucus chairmen (John Seymour and John Doolittle) and a number of important committee chairmen. But its most significant impact comes from four members of the Assembly's Gang of Five — Rusty Areias, Charles Calderon, Gary Condit and Steve Peace (see "A crumbling speakership," *CJ*, April 1988).

The current freshman class includes 11 Republicans, seven Democrats and one independent. There are 13 men and 6 women. Three members are considered freshmen even though they have been in the Legislature for as much as a decade. John Burton served in the Assembly from 1964 to 1974 before moving on to Congress. Marian Bergeson and Don Rogers both were elected to the Assembly in 1978, then to the state Senate in 1984 and 1986, respectively. The three are considered freshman because, by definition, a freshman is new to his or her surroundings and must spend time and energy getting to know the political landscape: the procedures, the players, the issues, the pitfalls.

To evaluate the freshman class, the *Journal* interviewed 17 legislators, over a dozen legislative staff and 20 lobbyists. They were asked which freshmen listened and who seemed close-minded, who seemed prepared in committee, who seemed well-informed and who understood the legislative process, who seemed adept at the art of compromise and negotiation, who had a grasp of issues, who were creative thinkers and problem-solvers and who were reactionaries, who worked hard and who seemed to coast.

The results of this admittedly informal survey showed that those at the top had one common trait: They all emerged from some level of local government. Three are former county supervisors (Kopp, Morgan and Speier). Three served on school boards (Bergeson, Hansen and Morgan). One was a city councilwoman (Eastin). All of the top six said local government prepared them well for the Legislature.

"Local government gives you an understanding of a majority of the issues the state deals with," said Republican Morgan. "As a result, you're up to speed faster. Local government

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Freshmen members of the Senate, left to right: Cecil Green, Marian Bergeson, Quentin Kopp, Becky Morgan and Don Rogers.

ATURE

iverse freshman class

lock

is also non-partisan, and so problem-solving is more important than the partisan battle."

Said Quentin Kopp, a former San Francisco supervisor: "Local government trains you to listen to people. Those are your neighbors who are clamoring for or against a position."

Interestingly, five of the six top freshmen are women. The only first-term woman who did not rank among the elite was Lucille Roybal-Allard. Observers said that she has not been in the Assembly long enough to evaluate her performance.

"Women take their job as a legislator a little more seriously than men do," said Democrat Rose Ann Vuich of Dinuba, in 1976 the first woman ever elected to the California state Senate. "Women also tend to follow through more than men. That doesn't degrade men. Women just tend to look at problems differently."

"Women devote more time to the issues," said Jean Duffy, a former assemblywoman from Sacramento. "Women take this job very seriously and don't get involved in the good-old-boy network, which still exists. It's very easy for a freshman to get carried away with the glamour aspects of the job — the power, the attention, the wining and dining. Women are more cynical about this. Women are more used to being courted and can see through the phoniness of it."

"Women have had to compromise most of our lives," said Republican Assemblywoman Doris Allen of Cypress. "This makes us better suited to a political life. We're willing to give on an issue and more willing to listen to other points of view. This is the nature of women."

Said Assemblywoman Speier, "The Legislature is a male bastion. Women are scrutinized closer, and we know that. So, we tend to be better prepared. We also tend to be overachievers, for good or ill."

The top six

Marian Bergeson, Republican. Marian Bergeson isn't a typical freshman — the stylish lawmaker has served in Sacramento for a decade. She was first elected to the state Assembly in 1978, and served there with distinction until moving up to the Senate in 1984. Nonetheless, the Newport Beach lawmaker is just now running for her first reelection to the Senate.

Both Republicans and Democrats say Bergeson has a solid reputation for fairness and hard work. For instance, she is one of only two Republicans to chair a Senate policy committee; in her case, Local Government.

"She's bright. She's intelligent. She's gutsy," Republican state Senator John Seymour said when interviewed for a *Journal* profile of Bergeson this past April. "She knows how to use the various leverage tools in her legislative kit."

"Superb," said a lobbyist. "Of all the freshman, she has the best understanding of the legislative process."

Bergeson should understand the process. After all, she's operated in the Capitol since 1978 and still lists her proudest achievement as passage of a bill that pegged state income tax rates to inflation. That measure, authored when Bergeson was a freshman in the Assembly, prevented people who get cost-of-living increases from being bounced into higher tax brackets.

Continued on next page

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The depth of respect for Bergeson in Orange County can be measured in her 1984 Senate race. There was no race. The 37th District was newly created by the final 1982 reapportionment and thus had no incumbent. Solidly GOP, it drew a galaxy of well-known Republicans interested in the seat, including Senator Ollie Speraw, a former state senator from Newport Beach who had been reapportioned out of his seat, and Hemet Assemblyman Dave Kelley. But when Bergeson expressed her interest, she drew local Republican support the way a chestnut draws squirrels. Speraw retired, Kelley stayed in the Assembly and Bergeson advanced to the Senate.

That respect was reinforced this past winter when Republican Robert Badham decided not to seek reelection to Congress from Orange County's decidedly Republican 40th District. Before other Republicans declared for the seat, they waited to see if Bergeson would enter the race. Only after Bergeson decided to remain in the Senate did Republicans scramble into the void (see "GOP free-for-all in the 40th," *CJ*, May 1988).

Bergeson decided against running for Congress, she said, because she could play a more effective role in the state Senate and because the Senate offered a better springboard to statewide office should an opportunity arise in 1990. And Bergeson is not shy about expressing her ambition. Her hat was in the ring for state treasurer when Governor George Deukmejian was considering replacements for the late Jesse Unruh, but the nod instead went to Congressman Dan Lungren.

Her stature in Orange County is paralleled by her reputation in Sacramento. "We don't always agree with her," said Common Cause lobbyist Steve Barrow, "but she's fair and her positions are well thought out."

Bergeson's approach to legislation and negotiation differs greatly from other Orange County lawmakers, notably those in the Assembly. More often than not, they tend to be conservative bomb throwers, given to highly public, highly partisan confrontations (see "Marian Bergeson," *CJ*, April 1988). Bergeson, the first woman elected to the Legislature from Orange County, is more low key, more moderate.

"Partisanship is a necessary part of the democratic process," Bergeson said. "But it must be partisanship that leads to creative solutions. Without that, there is no progress."

For all her charm and graciousness, the 60-year-old Bergeson can be a tough, persistent negotiator. "Perseverence is important," said Bergeson. "From the first day you walk into the office, it's an experience. You never suffer a failure or a loss. You go through an experience and build for the future."

Delaine Eastin, Democrat. Assemblywoman Eastin is so bright and aggressive, said one lobbyist, that it makes people uncomfortable. Not that Eastin's intelligence and drive are negatives, the lobbyist added, just facts. Nearly everyone interviewed agreed, citing Eastin as the Legislature's "Rookie of the Year."

"Energetic. Absolutely unafraid to plunge in on tough issues and is not intimidated or shy about expressing her views," said a legislative staff director.

"Does her homework. Always well prepared in committee. Her staff work is excellent," said another legislative consultant.

"Wants to know and understand the issues. Is fair and has a practical political feel that keeps her level-headed," said a corporate lobbyist.

"She understands the art of compromise," said Les Spahnn, a lobbyist with Jackson/Barrish. "She also takes a creative approach to impasses on bills. Patient, motivated and has good ideas."

Said Steve Barrow, a lobbyist for California Common Cause: "She's fair, and she listens. She thoroughly looks at things and doesn't hesitate to tell us when she disagrees."

"Delaine has an ability to see the larger picture, but also to be pragmatic about what she can accomplish here and now," said Democratic Assemblywoman Lucy Killea of San Diego.

The subject of all these kudos is a hard-charger who earned her political spurs as a two-term councilwoman from Union City, on the east side of San Francisco Bay. She credits her local-government experience with paving the way for her role as a legislator. "Local government is, by definition, nonpartisan," she said. "You learn to work with people. You learn to compromise, that half a loaf is better than none. You learn what you need to do to compromise and still keep your values intact."

But some observers say that although Eastin may eventually compromise on issues, the 40-year-old lawmaker is one of the Assembly's toughest negotiators.

"She can be difficult," said an admiring lobbyist. "You have to back her to the wall on issues, and she won't compromise until she has to compromise to save her issues."

For her part, Eastin doesn't mind being known as tough on the issues. "We need to write meaningful legislation," she said, "and sometimes people are so eager to get a bill through the process, they lose the sum and substance of the bill. There is a point at which you need to cut your losses, but there is also a need to stand up for what you believe."

Legislative staffers say Eastin has been successful because she is so well prepared for committee hearings, where the bulk of the Legislature's work takes place. They credit not only Eastin's aptitude for hard work but the work of her staff as well.

Being prepared, for Eastin, means establishing connections with people throughout the state who can help her understand bills. "You need to be well-connected to a good balance of people, real-life people who may be affected by the legislation we pass here," she said. "If I'm asked to vote on a bill about fire departments, I pick up the phone and call the Union City fire chief and find out how he's affected by it."

The hardest lesson for a freshman to learn, says Eastin, is that you cannot do everything. "You can't introduce every bill you're asked to do, go to every event, talk to every person. It's like being at a banquet table filled with all your favorite foods. You have to decide what you can handle, to establish priorities. You must understand that you can't make everyone happy."

Eastin, who earned a master's degree in political science from UC Santa Barbara, taught government and international relations at DeAnza College in Cupertino and at Canada College in Redwood City from 1971 to 1979. She left teaching to serve as a corporate planner for Pacific Telesis Group in San Francisco.

Bev Hansen, Republican. If anyone had a right to arrive in the Assembly with a chip on her shoulder, it was Bev Hansen, the 43-year-old former school board member from Santa Rosa. To be elected to the state Assembly in 1986, she had to contend with more than just opposing candidates; she had to roll over two political machines that were well-oiled with money and campaign expertise.

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In the Republican primary, Hansen went up against a candidate backed by Republican legislators loyal to GOP Assembly leader Pat Nolan. In November 1986 she upset Democrat Mary Jadiker, who two years before had narrowly lost to incumbent Don Sebastiani and who was amply supported by Assembly Democrats and Speaker Willie Brown Jr.

One election season — two tough campaigns; two upset victories.

But Hansen bears no grudges after both Assembly caucuses tried to keep her out of the Capitol. "It's a mistake to come here with a grudge from a campaign," she said. "When you come here with a negative attitude, you divert a whole lot of energy from what you need to do here to be positive and successful. You don't have time for it. A negative attitude doesn't work in life, so it won't work here."

Hansen's ability to forgive and her willingness to listen, learn and chart an independent course are cited by observers as reasons why they consider her a top Assembly freshmen.

"You can reason with her," said Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan, a Democratic colleague from Fresno. "She cares about the issues and will listen. She needs seasoning but has sound sensibilities."

"Sharp, but not strident," said Assemblyman Sam Farr, another Democrat. "She's respected by Democrats and has become a team player. Not a partisan team player, but a team player."

"Bev Hansen is a participator," said a corporate lobbyist. "She wants to help make decisions and isn't going to be content to let others make them."

Hansen, a former school board member and district aide to state Senator Jim Nielsen, says four years with Nielsen's office prepared her for a legislative life of her own. But, she adds, it still takes time for a freshman to make an impact in Sacramento.

"When I was elected," Hansen said, "I realised I wouldn't change the world overnight. You need to be realistic and to show your colleagues you can be trusted and respected. Then, you can be more effective."

Hansen said she had no difficulty learning the needs of her 8th Assembly District, however. "I've worked with those people for four years," she said. "My friends are there. I live there."

Like other top freshmen, Hansen is said to be well prepared in committee, asking meaningful questions and appearing open-minded on most issues. To learn, Hansen says she listens, reads bills and their analyses and phones people around her district to see how various bills affect the home turf. "If it's an education bill, I call school superintendents, principals, teachers. If the bill deals with law enforcement, I'll call sheriffs or judges from the district. I'm not an expert on these issues. I'm a facilitator for lawmaking. The experts are people out in the real world who have to live with the laws we make."

The energetic Hansen, who has four children (three in college), says her role as a single parent keeps her grounded in the real world. "When I call home at night and my daughter wants her mother to help solve a problem," says Hansen, "I'm reminded of my priorities."

Quentin Kopp. Independent. When Quentin Kopp was elected to the state Senate in 1986, one San Francisco pundit suggested that someone ought to send legislative leaders a case of Maalox. Kopp, a former San Francisco supervisor, was known as the town grump during his 14-year stint in local government, a reputation spawned by his fiscal conservatism and somber, sardonic manner and nurtured to the point that Kopp alienated most of San Francisco's politi-

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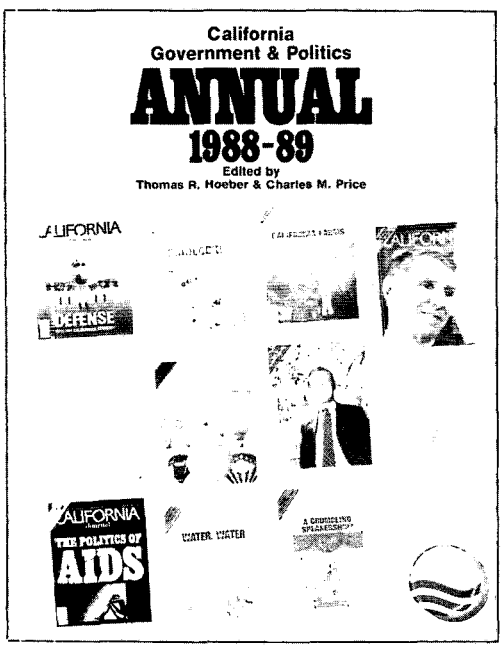

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cal establishment.

"The Howard Cosell of politics," said a Democratic assemblyman, who added that he liked working with Kopp.

Whatever the reason for his curmudgeon's outlook on life, Supervisor Quentin Kopp cultivated an air of independence, of being beholden to no one, and this stood him well when he ran for the Senate as an independent in 1986 against a Democrat known as a close ally of Speaker Willie Brown Jr.

A former Democrat himself, Kopp maintained his independent status after arriving in Sacramento and seemed adept at milking both caucuses. Republicans provided him with basic support materials; Democrats arranged for plum committee assignments such as Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, Local Government, and Revenue and Taxation.

The choice of Transportation proved fortuitous for Kopp, for it enabled him to pull off the most impressive *coup de committee* by a freshman in years — chairmanship of the Senate Transportaton Committee. Kopp's ascendancy was the result of being in the right place at the right time — and of having a massive change of heart on the confirmation of Dan Lungren to be state treasurer.

Kopp originally declared for confirmation, but Senate Democrats had more to offer him for voting "no" than Governor George Deukmejian had for voting "yes." From Deukmejian, he would get gratitude and perhaps a sympathetic look at his bills. From Democrats, he got a major policy committee. Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti offered Kopp the committee because its then-chairman, Democrat Wadie Deddeh, said he would buck party leaders and vote for Lungren.

Kopp doesn't deny that his chairmanship was linked to the Lungren vote, but he insists there was no *quid pro quo* with Roberti. "I had a strong background in transportation which landed me on the committee in the first place," Kopp said. "There were extraneous factors, too, that went beyond me. Roberti has said that I stood up and took an immense amount of flak and that the chairmanship was a recognition of not letting me stand alone."

But chairmanship or not, Capitol observers say Kopp belongs on any list of top freshman.

"Bright and tactically capable," said Senate Majority Leader Barry Keene.

"Extraordinary attention to the details of bills," said lobbyist Ed Gerber, who once lobbied for the city and county of San Francisco. "He looks at bills right down to the grammar and punctuation."

"Kopp looks at every aspect of every element of every bill and seems more committed to this than anyone else," said a committee consultant.

According to many observers, Kopp operates with a fundamental understanding of the issues and a veteran's approach to bills that belies the fact that he's been on the job in Sacramento less than two years.

Kopp attributes his attention to detail to 33 years as a trial lawyer. "I've accumulated a lot of experience dealing in disputes between people, and in the process of resolving disputes," he says.

Kopp also said that local government trained him to listen to people. "Those are your neighbors who are clamoring for or against a position," he said of local government. "It disciplines you."

Several observers think Kopp has played out his string as an independent and may soon return to the Democratic fold. Said one Democratic colleague: "He can't help but understand that many of his votes are with Democrats because they are in the interests of his district. Democrats offer him stability."

Stability, however, may not be all that alluring for the Howard Cosell of the Legislature.

Rebecca Morgan, Republican. The best acknowledgement of Rebecca Morgan's success as a legislator comes not from Republicans but from Democrats. For a while, Senate Democrats considered her their number-one statewide target in 1988.

Now, Democrats candidly admit that the Los Altos Hills lawmaker has so stabilized her political base that it would take a miracle to unseat her. Not that they've given up entirely; political miracles do happen, so Morgan's opponent, teacher Bob Mack Jr., will get some support.

In some ways, Morgan benefited from circumstances that may not have been foreseen a year ago. For one, Senate Democrats have been forced to spend a ton of money elsewhere. Nonetheless, they concede that the 49-year-old Morgan has become nearly untouchable in her affluent, San Francisco Bay-area district.

Morgan said she built that district strength by making her constituents a top priority. "You can get in trouble by not responding to constituent concerns," she said. "You can't become infatuated with what happens in Sacramento and forget about the people back home. When I think about my successes, I think about the small things, like getting orthopedic shoes for a senior citizen who doesn't have the money to pay for them. I work my district long and hard."

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Morgan, a New England native, overcame some formidable hurdles to win her first Senate election in 1984. Along the way, she became the answer to a political trivia question: Name the legislator who defeated three former state senators in one election year.

A relatively unknown Santa Clara County supervisor, Morgan caused barely a blip in public-opinion polls when the '84 race began. But a $400,000 primary election warchest, much of it family money, bought enough name recognition to allow her to knock off two better-known opponents — former state senators Marz Garcia and Dan O'Keefe. In the general election, she defeated the third former senator, Democrat Arlen Gregorio.

Morgan since has become known as an articulate, thoughtful, conscientious lawmaker. If there is a knock on her, it is that some observers think she could be tougher on environmental issues, all important to her environmentally-conscious district. The Sierra Club, for instance, gives her something of a mixed review.

"She has had one of the better records in the Legislature," said Sierra Club lobbyist Mike Paparian. "That's somewhat reflective of her constituency. But our folks in her area wish she would be more aggressive and out front on environmental issues. Given her constituency, it would be nice if she were more of a leader on environmental issues than she is."

Morgan was labeled as a moderate when she first came to Sacramento, but Democrats don't think she's maintained that stance. Said one Democratic colleague: "More often than not, she's buckled to the will of the Republican leadership."

Of course, Republicans translate that knock into loyalty to her party and to Governor George Deukmejian.

Morgan credits her success to an ability to listen and to understand the issues before becoming a vocal member of the upper house. Others characterize her as having a good understanding of what one lobbyist called "public options, what's possible both politically and practically."

"After three elective jobs [board of education president, county supervisor and state senator], experience says it takes three years before you fully understand the issues and the people you work with," Morgan said.

Jackie Speier, Democrat. December 1, 1986, was a bittersweet Monday in the life of Jackie Speier. In Sacramento, she took the oath of office as a member of the Assembly. Ninety miles away, in a federal courtroom in San Francisco, a man named Larry Layton was convicted of conspiracy for the 1978 slaying of former Congressman Leo Ryan and others at a remote airstrip near Jonestown, Guyana. Jackie Speier, at the time Ryan's legal counsel and aide, was severely wounded in that attack.

Thus did the highpoint and lowpoint of Speier's political life come together on a crisp December morning. Informed of Layton's fate only moments after taking her oath, she wept openly — an all-too-human response in a place known for posturing and bravado.

Symbolically, that day marked an end and a beginning. It was the end of an ordeal that saw her endure the inevitable psychological fallout from so close a brush with death. And it was the beginning of her career in the Assembly.

But some experiences never completely fade. Guyana will forever be a part of Speier's political landscape. No election battle, no amount of legislative wrangling, no controversy will prove as tough nor as frightening. That kind of brush with death remolds one's perceptions of time and travail. Partially as a result of Guyana, Speier does not shy away from the

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difficult fights, the tough issues.

"Jackie Speier is unafraid on the tough issues," said one member of the Assembly staff. "She tries to find innovative ways to address problems and is unafraid to try them."

It was a tough road for Speier to even reach the Assembly. First, Assembly Democratic leadership backed her opponent in the 1986 primary. Both candidates were seeking to replace one of Speaker Willie Brown's top lieutenants — Rules Committee Chairman Lou Papan — and the speaker designated San Francisco police officer Michael Nevin to inherit Papan's seat.

But all the speaker's money and political firepower couldn't overcome Speier's reputation as a competent, hard-working San Mateo County supervisor. Not that she ran away with the election; she won by only 447 votes out of 39,000 cast.

The district, with its comfortable Democratic registration edge, is now hers. She has cemented her hold on it both at home and in Sacramento where she made up with Speaker Brown soon after winning the primary.

"Jesse Unruh was right," said Speier, referring to the late state treasurer. "If you slayed all your enemies today, you wouldn't have any friends tomorrow. In local government, it seems your foes are always your foes. Alliances are built and defined for long periods of time. In the Legislature, those alliances are fluid."

Fluid, for Speier, means fleeting as well, the "what have you done for me lately" syndrome. To counteract that, and to be effective as a freshman, Speier believes that rookie legislators must make a good first impression. "You can be labeled for all time based on early perceptions. To get along here, you need to be collegial and have a sense of humor. And you have to be willing to be educated."

According to most observers, Speier has made a good first impression. "A good strategic thinker," said Democratic Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan.

"Issue-oriented, savvy," said Senate Majority Leader Barry Keene, a Benecia Democrat.

At this point, the praise doesn't seem to have gone to Speier's head. "I am not going to single-handedly save the state of California," she remarked. "I'm not taken with the trappings of office. I've been around politics enough to know that what's here today can be gone tomorrow. Some members get so wrapped up in it that their self esteem is connected with being in office."

Speier has another reason to take her legislative service in stride. She's expecting to give birth to her first child this month.

The best of the rest

William Duplissea, Republican. Assemblyman Duplissea's first term seemed marred by a series of mishaps. He showed up in Sacramento one morning with a black eye, the result of an altercation over a traffic incident in his district. Another time, he hobbled into the Assembly chambers on crutches after wrecking his knee in a basketball game.

Personally, Duplissea is thought of as gregarious and hard working. Legislatively, the San Carlos lawmaker received mixed reviews. He is considered aggressive and to have a good grasp of issues, especially in transportation, but many observers say his focus is too narrow; he is primarily interested in the privatization of transit services.

"Too anxious," said a lobbyist. "He hasn't developed the patience for putting deals together, and this has hurt him on his pet issue — competitive bidding in transportation."

Terry Friedman, Democrat. According to most observers, Assemblyman Friedman has more native intelligence than any other freshman. They universally admire him for his thoughtfulness, integrity and self-effacing dedication to principle. The problem, they say, is that the Los Angeles legislator is too locked into a liberal ideology to be effective at this point in his career.

"He's so liberal that he often misses the point and can't compromise to get a final product," said one lobbyist.

Said a member of the Assembly staff: "His principles are unshakeable, and this makes him appear an extremist in the current Assembly environment."

Trice Harvey, Republican. In 1986 Assemblyman Harvey survived two grueling elections. In June he barely escaped a GOP primary during which Assembly Republican leaders first endorsed, then trashed him (see "Primary analysis," *CJ*, July 1986). In November he won an expensive race with a candidate backed by Assembly Democrats. Known mostly for his sense of humor and country charm, Harvey emerged from freshman shadows in dramatic form in early May 1988 when he sought to separate Willie Brown from his speakership. A cooperative arrangement between Brown and Republican leaders prevented any meaningful Assembly vote on Harvey's motion, but it earned the Bakersfield lawmaker a few days in the limelight.

Colleagues and staff say Harvey is one of the brightest freshman but masks his intelligence with a country bumpkin attitude. Known as a problem-solver, "He has a style and mode to negotiate difficult issues," said one corporate lobbyist.

Richard Polanco, Democrat. Assemblyman Polanco emerged out of East Los Angeles political wars in June 1986

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to replace former Assemblyman Richard Alatorre, who had been elected to the Los Angeles City Council. Polanco immediately drew criticism for one of his first Assembly votes — in favor of siting a new state prison in an East Los Angeles neighborhood that didn't want it. Since then, the affable 37-year-old lawmaker has established himself as one of the more aggressive and innovative members of the freshman class. For instance, Polanco is the sponsor of a major, statewide initiative to reform the auto insurance industry. His major drawback, observers say, is that he is spread too thin. As a result, they say, Polanco often does not seem well-prepared in committee hearings, even on his own bills.

Charles Quackenbush, Republican. According to many observers, Quackenbush's main asset at this point in his career is his movie-star good looks, which put him on the list when future Republican candidates for statewide office are discussed. As a legislator, he is regarded by both Republicans and Democrats as bright and charismatic, but inexperienced. Some lobbyists were put off by what they considered overly aggressive fund-raising techniques that surfaced shortly after he arrived in Sacramento. Others said that the Saratoga assemblyman has hardened into a more rigid conservative after arriving in Sacramento a moderate Republican. Other observers credited him with a penchant for hard work and what they perceive as a genuine concern for his district. "He's bright and he's smooth," said one lobbyist. "But he needs seasoning."

Don Rogers, Republican. Rogers is no stranger to Sacramento. Like another Senate freshman, Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach, the 60-year-old Bakersfield lawmaker was first elected to the state Legislature back in 1978 as a member of the Assembly. Thus, he has extensive knowledge of the legislative process and how work really gets done under the Capitol dome.

Said a lobbyist: "He understands his district. He understands the economy of it and what works for it. He's very quick to defend the well being of his district."

But most observers also consider Rogers a predictable vote who rarely stands out front on issues and who has never been known as a creative thinker or a problem-solver. "A knee-jerk conservative," said one lobbyist.

The rest

John Burton, Democrat. Assemblyman Burton doesn't consider himself a freshman. After all, he reasons, he was first elected to the Assembly in 1964, serving until 1974 when he moved on to Congress. Certainly, he knows and understands the legislative process — both the academic process and the real process. But the personalities are different and more strident than in 1974. The issues are different. Problems facing the state are different. In a larger sense, Burton is a freshman all over again. And since he only arrived on the scene in April 1988, after winning a special election to replace San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos, it's too early to evaluate his performance. For the time being, his close ties to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown have helped Burton land important committee assignments, such as on Ways and Means. That advantage could evaporate, however, should Brown lose the speakership.

Chris Chandler, Republican. Assemblyman Chandler won this seat in a six-way Republican primary during which he was favored with massive support from Assembly Republicans. Although long active in Sutter County politics, the 37-

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year-old Chandler, a Yuba City attorney, had never held elective office. Since coming to Sacramento in 1986, he has been, as one lobbyist said, "invisible on most issues." Few of the people asked to evaluate the freshman class even knew him, and those that did considered him personable, "but no fast starter."

Cecil Green, Democrat. Green's 1987 upset win over Assemblyman Wayne Grisham is a source of pride for Senate Democrats (see "Ambush in the 33rd District," *CJ*, May '87). But it cost Democrats over $1 million to elect him, and that figure may pale compared to what Democrats expect to spend this November to keep the affable Norwalk lawmaker in office. To bolster his standing with voters, Senate Democratic boss David Roberti named Green chairman of a policy committee — Public Employment. Pleasant socially, Green has a reputation for wanting to please everyone — a trait that has caused him problems. On several issues, say Capitol insiders, he has left both sides of a dispute with the impression that he had committed to their position. "His word has diminished in value," said a Senate colleague. "He's not malicious, just naive."

Tim Leslie, Republican. "An average Joe," said a lobbyist. "He's paid careful attention to his district and is accessible. But he so wants to do what he perceives as the 'right thing' that he finds the legislative process painful." An Assembly staff director complained that the Carmichael lawmaker tends to rush in where he perceives a problem but has little understanding of the technical aspects of his solutions. Several observers expressed surprise at what they saw as Leslie's lack of political savvy, saying that his impatience with bureaucracy and rigid ideological stance have alienated potential allies both in the Legislature and in the administration.

Richard Longshore, Republican. Richard Longshore, 62, died of pneumonia on June 8th, only one day after winning an uncontested primary for reelection to the Assembly. His brief political career was highlighted by persistence; his repeated challenges drove Democratic Assemblyman Richard Robinson into retirement in 1986. Ironically, however, Longshore's greatest impact as a legislator may have occurred after his death. Without him, the loose alliance between Republicans and dissident, Gang-of-Five Democrats fell one short of the 41-vote majority needed to control the flow of legislation through the Assembly or threaten the speakership of Willie Brown Jr.

Lucille Roybal-Allard, Democrat. Assemblywoman Roybal-Allard may have the most untapped potential of any first-termer. But the 47-year-old Los Angeles lawmaker has maintained such a low profile that it is difficult for Capitol observers to gauge her effectiveness. The daughter of long-time Congressman Ed Roybal, Roybal-Allard was elected in May 1987 to fill out the term of former Assemblywoman Gloria Molina, elected to the Los Angeles City Council last year. In fact, many observers said Roybal- Allard's best asset is the aggressive and competent staff she inherited from Molina. "She seems to be riding this year out," said an Assembly staffer.

Paul Zeltner, Republican. Paul Zeltner seems to have made a universal lack of impression on colleagues, staff and lobbyists during his nearly two years of service in Sacramento. Few had worked with him on issues. Few even knew him.

A corporate lobbyist offered an explanation: "Paul Zeltner is in such difficult political circumstances that it has been tough for him to settle in."

Zeltner may never settle in. A Republican, he represents a district where two out of every three registered voters are Democrats. When he ran for election in 1986, even Assembly Republicans refused to help him; he got support from Los Angeles County supervisors. He was elected because overconfident Assembly Democrats nominated a candidate who couldn't win the district (see "Election results," *CJ*, December 1986).

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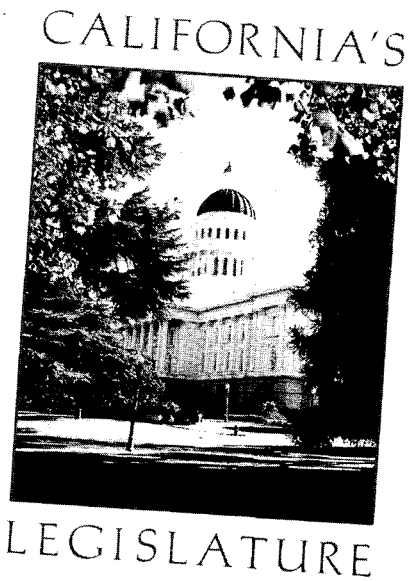

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GRAY POWER

Growing clout for a growing population of seniors

By Bruce Scheidt

Organized and determined, hundreds of senior citizens jammed into a large legislative hearing room last January to dramatize the high cost of long-term-care insurance. This graying army marched before the Assembly Finance and Insurance Committee with stacks of petitions, clutching 36,000 signatures from seniors who had endorsed a comprehensive statewide health insurance plan.

Though the insurance proposal, AB 2020, narrowly was defeated, the moment was an awakening. Seniors demonstrated they are not politically compliant but can be moved to shake the legislative hallways over their grievances. And it gave them insights into new tactics that may have to be employed in the future. There were serious discussions, for example, of handing over the petitions to helpful legislators, much like wealthy special interests, leverage campaign contributions. The idea was temporarily shelved but will be revived.

The health bill's author, Assemblyman Dan Hauser, an Arcata Democrat, explained, "Every legislator would love to be able to write a personalized letter to a senior constituent, 'Just thought you'd like to know I voted for an issue of concern to you.'"

The developing politics of senior citizens is one of the state's most important demographic changes. During the 1980s the increase in the numbers of the over-60 age group has averaged about 3 percent annually, which is 30 percent faster than the growth in the general population. Studies show that the proportion of older Californians will continue to increase into the next decade, forcing greater and greater demands on those state programs that provide services to older persons.

Just as significant is the elderlys' sense of duty to vote. A recent California Field Poll revealed that 80 percent of people 60 years or older are registered to vote, compared to just 41 percent in the 18-24 age group. Some polling data indicate that over half of all California's registered voters are more than 50 years old.

Senior activists say that a politician who assumes that older persons are politically inert faces the risk of being trampled at the polls. "We don't think you can win without the seniors' vote," says seniors' activist Ted Ruhig of Sacramento.

Observes state Senator Henry Mello, a Watsonville Democrat who chairs a Senate subcommittee on aging, "I'd hate to cross seniors, especially with the organizations they have now."

The importance of the seniors' vote has been amplified by the sniping between U.S. Senator Pete Wilson and his Democratic opponent this November, Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, over Social Security. McCarthy, who led the fight for nursing-home reforms in 1984 and sponsored numerous programs for seniors while an assemblyman, is aggressively going after the seniors' vote, hitting Wilson hard for the senator's 1985 deficit-reduction vote that would have cut Social Security. Democrat McCarthy has said that Republican Wilson's voting record is "so bad that he shouldn't utter the words 'Social Security' outside the confessional."

Wilson, however, is in a strong position for seniors' support despite his well-publicized Social Security vote in which

Continued on next page

Bruce Scheidt is Capitol correspondent for the Bakersfield Californian.

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he had to leave his hospital bed after undergoing an emergency appendectomy. Polls show the elderly are more conservative and Republican than the general voting population, and that should help Wilson limit damage from his 1985 vote. Wilson's campaign is taking nothing for granted and has been contacting senior centers to recruit support. Moreover, Wilson has attacked McCarthy for his vote as an assemblyman in 1982 that cut aid to the elderly, blind and disabled.

Just as politicians court seniors, the seniors' political movement is trying to develop more effective ways to compete for votes in the state Capitol. Without an organizational structure to raise and distribute campaign funds, seniors swamp the politicians with direct mail, phone calls and personal visits.

"We don't have a lot of bargaining chips," says JoAnn James, legislative coordinator for the Senior Legislature. "But in one day, I can authorize 500 letters from seniors to a legislator. We can turn around some votes."

Senior Assemblyman Lee Strohbehn of Ojai warned that anti-senior voting records can be communicated effectively through official senior publications. One of those who may be in for critical treatment is Assemblyman Peter Chacon, a San Diego Democrat, who was lobbied heavily but then abstained on AB 2020.

"He may rue the day he did that," said Strohbehn.

Chacon seems unconcerned. "The issue isn't going to mean the difference of my getting elected or not," Chacon said.

There are so many groups lobbying for seniors in Sacramento that it sometimes is difficult to tell who really speaks for the interests of California's elderly. The Senior Legislature is the most visible advocate for the elderly. The Senior Legislature is composed of 120 members — 40 in the Senate, 80 in the Assembly — who are elected locally and serve two-year terms. More than 46,000 seniors voted in last year's elections.

Senior lawmakers meet for four days each October in the real Capitol, where they address senior needs and develop legislative proposals. After winnowing the proposals down to 10, senior legislators seek authors in the regular Legislature and lobby the bills all the way through the process the following year.

Funded through voluntary income tax check-offs and created by legislation in 1981, the Senior Legislature has enjoyed good success, getting about 70 percent of its proposals into law. But former Senior Assemblyman Ted Ruhig acknowledges that some of those bills were "pipsqueaks: long on titles and short on funding." The Senior Legislature's biggest successes include a $50 million bond issue for senior citizen centers, nursing home reforms, and creation of Alzheimer's research, diagnostic and treatment centers. Its most ambitious effort ever, senior lawmakers say, was AB 2020. The Senior Legislature has made AB 2020's successor, Assembly Constitutional Amendment 60, also authored by Hauser, its top priority this year.

A legislative staffer who works closely with senior lawmakers says their abilities and experiences vary greatly. The Senior Legislature has a 50 percent turnover every two years.

"Some are dedicated who want to make a difference, some are egocentric, and some have nothing better to do with their time," the legislative staffer said.

Emma Gunterman, who lobbies for senior issues as a fulltime, paid legislative advocate for California Rural Legal Assistance, said the Senior Legislature has acquired some sophistication in its seven years of operation.

"Some of these people who have been around for a while know what they're doing," Gunterman said. "They know the committees, they know the key staffers they have to talk to, and they know they shouldn't ask for a vote because it's sponsored by seniors."

Some Republican legislators were put off by the Senior Legislature's embrace of AB 2020, which business groups strongly opposed because of new employer costs. Assemblyman Phil Wyman of Tehachapi said he has detected a more liberal agenda advanced by the Senior Legislature.

"Some of their proposals are not taken very seriously, to their detriment," said Wyman who, as a member of the Finance and Insurance Committee, was heavily lobbied on AB 2020.

Sunny Scofield of Bakersfield, who chairs the Senior Legislature's Joint Rules Committee, said Republican legislators simply did not understand Hauser's comprehensive health bill. "I've told them, 'Read the bill.' It's not socialized medicine," said Scofield, a Republican herself.

Another advocate for seniors is the California Commission on Aging, which was created by state law to advise the Department of Aging. Of the commission's 25 members, 19 are appointed by the governor, and so one might expect the commission to be apologists for the administration's policies. But that has not been the case with the Deukmejian appointees. The commission and the Senior Legislature work well together; so well, in fact, that Alice Gonzales, director of the Department of Aging, has been critical of the commission's activities.

Gonzales said in an interview that the commission "is not very helpful" because it gets too heavily involved in political activities that should be left to the Senior Legislature. Gonzales said she was considering asking the governor to cut funding for the commission, which this year will get about $475,000. For instance, it did not set well with some members of the administration that the commission supported AB 2020.

Gonzales' criticism "shocked" Commission Chairman John Sonneborn, a Deukmejian appointee. "We're supposed to take positions on behalf of seniors," Sonneborn said. "The governor didn't appoint us to take a party line if its not in the best interest of the senior constituency."

Some lawmakers, however, also are questioning whether the commission is superfluous to senior needs. During a recent budget subcommittee hearing, Democratic state Senator Art Torres of Los Angeles observed that the commission's funding might be better spent on nutritional programs or other needy services for seniors.

Meanwhile, a new and growing presence in the state Capitol is the massive American Association of Retired Persons. With 27 million members, of whom 2.7 million are Californians, AARP is the largest seniors organization in the country. It is best known for lobbying Congress for Social Security and Medicare, and offering a wide variety of programs ranging from insurance, a discount travel services, tax counseling, and a mail-order pharmacy.

AARP plans to be more active in California politics by opening its first fulltime lobbying operation in Sacramento by the end of this summer, sponsoring candidate forums this fall, and co-sponsoring a ballot initiative for long-term care insurance. Many in the Senior Legislature are members of AARP.

Adding to the senior's voice in the Capitol are two other grassroots groups, the Gray Panthers and California Congress of Senior Citizens, both of which have a decidedly liberal agendas.

AARP's intiative, co-sponsored by Democratic Assembly-

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man Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento, will be a key test of the public's mood on higher taxes. The measure will seek to raise the state's sales tax by half a cent to help fund nursing home insurance for people over 65. Connelly said signatures will be gathered around the November election in hopes of qualifying the measure for 1990. The sales tax increase would generate nearly $900 million a year that would be distributed to Californians who buy insurance policies that pay for nursing-home and home-care expenses. The subsidies would include a needs test based on a senior's income.

Private insurance now costs up to $1000 annually, while the cost of a private nursing home averages more than $20,000 annually.

"The result is, people exhaust their life assets very quickly and go on welfare," Connelly said. "There's a general assumption that there's long-term care available for seniors. The truth is, there's not."

Another major issue to senior leaders is Governor Deukmejian's budget proposals for programs that benefit the elderly. Senior leaders and Democratic legislators have been critical that nearly every seniors program which has a discretionary cost-of-living adjustment was not recommended for an increase in funding. These programs include meals provided at community centers, respite care, stipends to seniors who provide supportive services to adults with special needs, senior citizens property tax reimbursement, and investigations of abuse at board and care homes.

Deukmejian also did not provide additional start-up monies for new adult day-care facilities, even though every senior organization, including the governor's own Commission on Aging, believes adult day care is more humane and cheaper than institutionalized care. There now are 55 adult day-care facilities in California, but there is a need for at least 1000 more, according to senior advocates.

Assemblyman Tom Bates, a Berkeley Democrat, assailed Deukmejian's budget proposals as "a callous disregard for seniors."

Connelly, who chairs the Assembly Long Term and Aging Committee, said Democrats likely would give all of the seniors' discretionary programs a cost of living adjustment. He publicly questioned the administration's commitment to these programs, pointedly asking a Department of Aging official, "Do you guys go in there and advocate for these programs?"

Gonzales, director of Aging, said critics do not see "the battles and scars" from her arguing for these programs with the Department of Finance, which is trying to hold the line on spending. Gonzales said she pleaded for Deukmejian to sign legislation last year to provide $750,000 for new adult day-care facilities. The governor vetoed it, explaining in his veto message that he wanted to wait to see the conclusions in a report due out in September that will examine the problem of long-term care.

Connelly fumed in response, "The problem is, the state has been doing a long-term care study since five years before I was elected to the Legislature."

Regardless of how Deukmejian's specific proposals end up, there is a growing awareness that seniors must concentrate more on the budget process and less on individual bills. The budget bill will contain about $3.8 billion in spending for 39 separate programs providing services and benefits for seniors. This year seniors will attend all the budget subcommittee hearings.

"Seniors have not been involved in the budget process, and that's where the action is," says Ted Ruhig, a budget analyst for the Senior Legislature. "The budget has the money."

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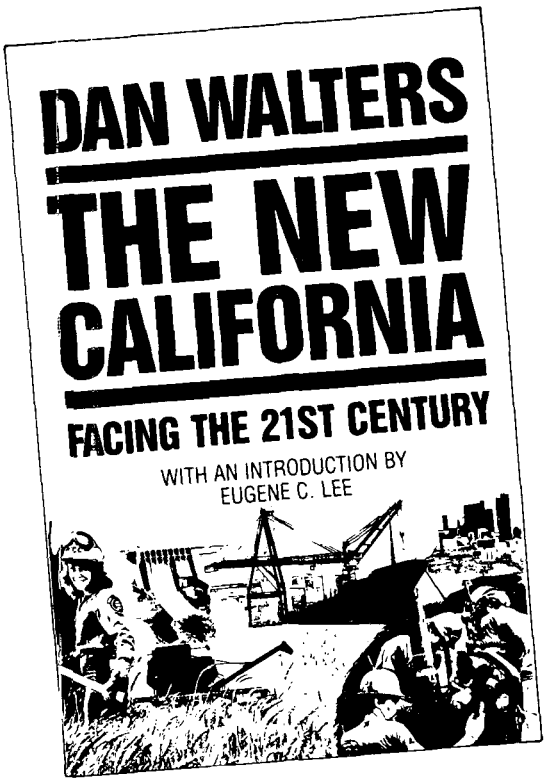

The New California — Facing the 21st Century

by Dan Walters

with an introduction by Eugene C. Lee

The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, recently completed a 9000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which resulted in a 15-part series in the *Bee*. The articles describe the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful series will be available in book form June 15th. The 180-page book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: $8.95.

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BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,145 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. Regardless of the date shown, signatures should have been submitted in April 1988 for any measure to qualify for the November 1988 ballot.*

New in circulation:

FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY EVIDENCE. REPEAL OF LAW — an initiative statute, sponsored by Tennie B. Rogers of Pasadena, would repeal the Robbins-McAlister Financial Responsibility Act which requires motorists to have evidence of financial responsibility for their vehicles. It also provides that auto insurance is no longer mandatory and that no person's driver's license shall ever be suspended except for unsafe driving. (October 13th)

Continuing in circulation:

LONG TERM HEALTH CARE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Janet Levy of Sacramento. (June 17th; March 1988 *CJ*)

EDUCATION TAX CREDIT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Manuel Klausner of Californians for Quality Education (Encinitas). (June 23rd; March 1988 *CJ*)

AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE; GOOD DRIVER PREMIUMS — an initiative statute, sponsored by J. Gary Gwilliam of Oakland. (June 24th; March 1988 *CJ*)

TAX CREDIT. AIDS RESEARCH FUND — an initiative statute, sponsored by state Controller Gray Davis and California AIDS Advisory Committee member Bruce Decker. (July 5th; March 1988 *CJ*)

MOTOR VEHICLE ACCIDENT CLAIM REIMBURSEMENT FUND — an initiative statute, sponsored by James Wheaton of the Center for Public Interest Law. (July 5th; March 1988 *CJ*)

SMALL CLAIMS COURT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Judge Roderic Duncan of the Alameda County Superior Court. (August 4th; April 1988 *CJ*)

INSURANCE REGULATION, MOTOR VEHICLE ACCIDENT CLAIMS REIMBURSEMENT PROGRAM — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic state Senator Alan Robbins of North Hollywood and Adam Burton of Los Angeles. (August 8th; May *CJ*)

LEGAL PRACTICE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Sally Acosta of Los Angeles. (August 22nd; May *CJ*)

INSURANCE, ACCIDENT CLAIMS, MOTOR VEHICLES — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute sponsored by Joseph Bell of Los Angeles. (September 26th; June 1988 *CJ*)

HOMESTEAD AGAINST NEGLIGENCE LIABILITY — an initiative statute, sponsored by David Kaye of Long Beach. (September 26th; June 1988 *CJ*)

SCHOOLS AND CHILD CARE CENTERS, LIABILITY EXCLUSION — an initiative statute, sponsored by David Kaye of Long Beach. (September 26th; June 1988 *CJ*)

DRIVER VEHICLE INSURANCE, TAXES AND FEES — an initiative statute, also sponsored by David Kaye of Long Beach. (September 26th; June 1988 *CJ*)

Signatures submitted:

AIDS REPORTING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer of Fullerton and Dr. Lawrence McNamee of the California Physicians for a Logical AIDS Response. (May 16th; February 1988 *CJ*)

DISCLOSURE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Jim Rogers of Oakland (May 23rd; February 1988 *CJ*)

INSURANCE RATES AND REGULATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Harvey Rosenfield of Santa Monica. (June 9th; March 1988 *CJ*)

MOTOR VEHICLE AND OTHER INSURANCE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Stanley Zax of Beverly Hills. (June 24th; March 1988 *CJ*)

ATTORNEY FEES LIMIT FOR TORT CLAIMS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Edwin Smith of Sacramento. (September 9th; May *CJ*)

Qualified for November 1988 ballot:

AIDS TESTING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block, that requires testing for AIDS and other communicable diseases under certain circumstances. Under a finding of probable cause that bodily fluids were transferred during commission of a crime, the measure mandates that a court order blood testing for persons charged with sex offenses or certain assaults on police officers, fire fighters and emergency medical personnel.

HOUSING AND NUTRITIONAL ASSISTANCE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Board of Equalization Chairman Conway Collis, that creates a public corporation to distribute money to counties, other local jurisdictions and to non-profit organizations to provide emergency and temporary services to hungry and homeless persons, and to provide specified low-income housing.

CAL-OSHA — an initiative statute, sponsored by John Henning of the California Labor Federation, that requires that funds be budgeted for the state occupational safety and health plan. This measure is in response to action taken in 1987 by Governor George Deukmejian to do away the Cal-OSHA program and turn enforcement over to the federal government.

SCHOOL FUNDING — an initiative consitutional amendment, sponsored by California Teachers Association President Ed Foglia, that establishes a minimum level of state funding for school and community districts and transfers to these districts all state revenues in excess of the state appropriations limit, then exempts these funds from the limit.

CIGARETTE AND TOBACCO TAX — an initiative constitutional amendment and statute, sponsored by Neil Andrews and Carolyn Martin of the Coalition for a Healthy California, that imposes an additional tax of 1.25 cents per cigarette on cigarette distributors. An equivilent amount would be imposed on distributors of other tobacco products.

AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE RATES AND REGULATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Steve Miller of Beverly Hills, that requires a 20 percent reduction in good driver rates from those in effect on January 1, 1988. Among other things, the measure prohibits insurance companies from price fixing, discrimination and other unfair practices, sets up the Insurance Consumer Advocate Office and increases penalties for fraudulent health-insurance sales to seniors.

MOTOR VEHICLE ACCIDENT CLAIMS AND INSURANCE RATES — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic Assemblyman Richard Polanco of Los Angeles, limits accident claims for non-economic losses and prohibits contingency fees greater than 25 percent of economic losses, with exceptions.

Failed to qualify:

JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by James Schwander of People for Legal Justice. (February 1988 *CJ*)

HOUSING ASSISTANCE BONDS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Marcus Brown Jr. of the California Coalition for Rural Housing. (February 1988 *CJ*)

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES; "TIED HOUSE" LAWS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Jeremiah Hallisey of San Francisco. (February 1988 *CJ*)

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE TAX — an initiative statute, sponsored by Los Angeles County Supervisor Ed Edelman. (February 1988 *CJ*)

TERMINAL ILLNESS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Robert Risley of Los Angeles. (February 1988 *CJ*)

NUCLEAR POWER PLANT EMERGENCY RESPONSE PLANS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Ben Davis Jr. of Broderick. (March 1988 *CJ*)

CRIMINAL LAW — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Republican state Senators Ed Davis of Northridge and Ed Royce of Anaheim, GOP Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Fullerton, Kern County District Attorney Ed Jagels, Robert Henderson, Anthony Rackauckas, Sterling Norris, Richard Riordan, and Doris Tate. (March 1988 *CJ*)

Source: Secretary of State's office

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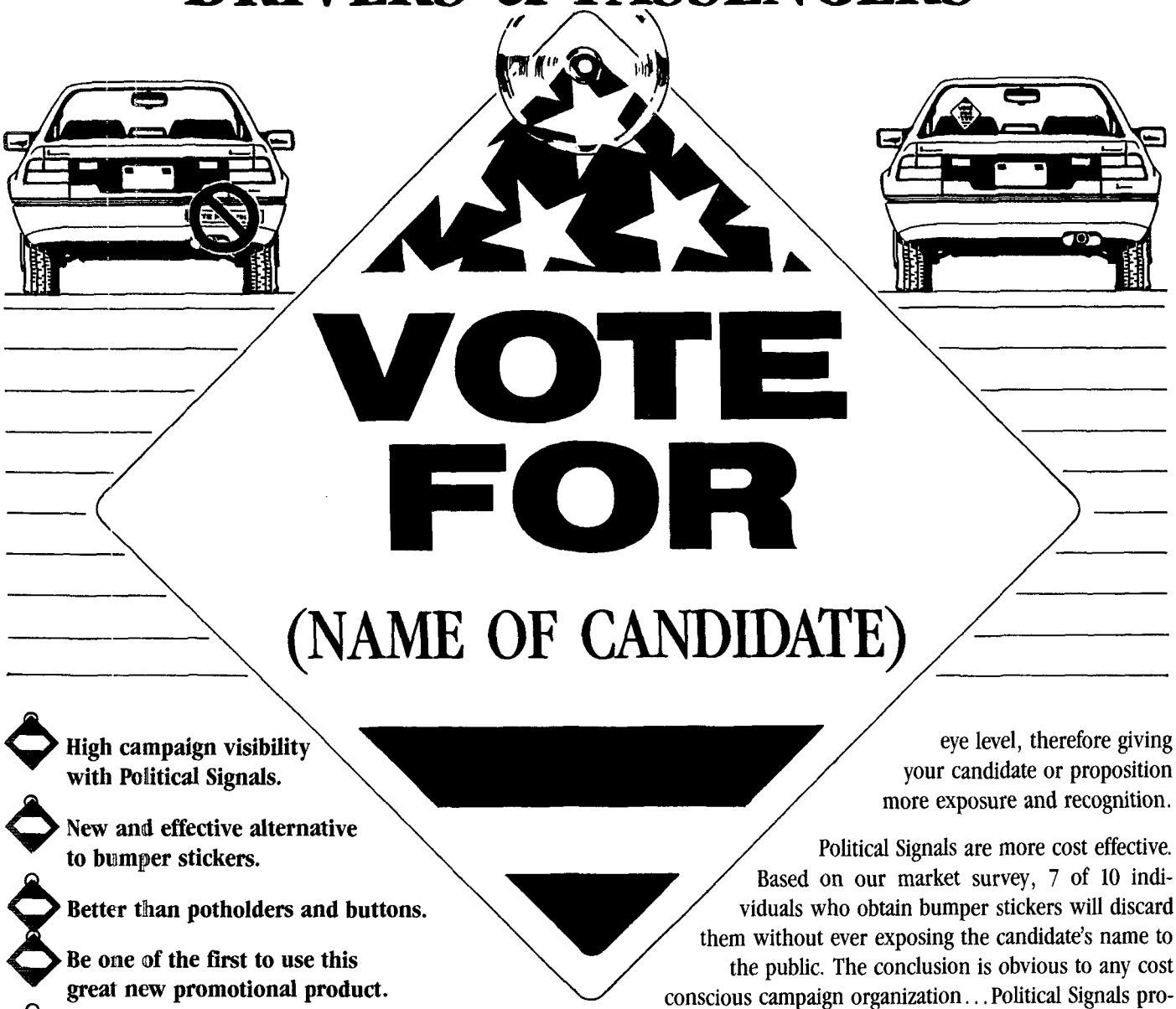

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Complete results of the June primary election

PRESIDENT

California voters weren't given much of a choice when it came time to vote in presidential party primaries. Republicans in other parts of the country had already determined that George Bush would be the nominee of their party. Although

	delegates	# of votes	% of votes
DEMOCRAT			
Dukakis	**198**	**1,879,267**	**61%**
Gore	0	55,189	2%
Jackson	116	1,085,883	35%
LaRouche	0	26,091	1%
Simon	0	42,734	1%
REPUBLICAN			
Bush		**1,817,238**	**83%**
Dole		283,537	13%
Robertson		92,804	4%
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT			
Griffin		**8,846**	**65%**
Gritz		4,809	35%
PEACE AND FREEDOM			
Fulani		**2,025**	**36%**
Hamburg		350	6%
Holmes		1,019	18%
Isaacson		1,194	21%
Kenoyer		387	7%
Lewin		725	13%

Bob Dole and Pat Robertson remained on the ballot, Republicans had little choice but to ratify Bush, although more than 17 percent of them cast ballots elsewhere anyway.

The Democratic primary was somewhat more spirited. After all, there was at least the mathamatical chance that Jesse Jackson could stop the Mike Dukakis bandwagon. But despite early promises of an all-out campaign by both of the main Democrats, the California primary ended up primarily as a sparring ground for what sort of influence Jackson could expect at the upcoming Democratic convention. In the end, California had little clout here, too, and Dukakis won 60 percent of the popular vote and 198 convention delegates to 35 percent for Jackson, who captured 116 delegates. Dukakis' victory was enough to guarantee his nomination on the first ballot in Atlanta. About the only surprise: despite being out of the race, Illinois Senator Paul Simon managed to pick up two delegates from the voters in Marin County.

If the primaries turned out to be somewhat dull for Californians, they can take solice in the fact that the state should be a major battleground in November. With 47 electoral votes, neither candidate can afford to take the state for granted. Although a Democrat (Lyndon Johnson) has carried the state only once since 1948, Dukakis is holding a substantial, although probably meaningless, lead in early polls. The contest is made all the more tantalizing by the possibility, however remote, that Governor Deukmejian could end up as the vice-presidential nominee.

US SENATE

The party primaries for the U. S. Senate were never in doubt. Republican incumbent Pete Wilson was unopposed, and Democratic Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy had only token opposition. As a result, the two for some months have been holding preliminary jousts that look forward to next November. From a personality standpoint, both Wilson and McCarthy have much in common. Both are serious, hard-working but unexciting politicians. As a result, this election

	# of votes	% of votes
DEMOCRAT		
Abbott	217,001	8%
Banuelos	161,672	6%
Greene	144,349	5%
McCarthy	**2,330,267**	**82%**
REPUBLICANS		
Wilson	**2,070,327**	**100%**
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Short	**14,779**	**100%**
LIBERTARIAN		
Dean	**9,770**	**100%**
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Garcia	2,501	41%
Munoz	**3,560**	**59%**

promises to be more issue-oriented than most and, for good or ill, the public rarely finds those as exciting as elections built around the personalities of the combatants.

Adding to the caution is Wilson's knowledge that he occupies the "jinxed" Senate seat, the one that has changed

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hands a half-dozen times in the past 25 years when it was occupied by the flamboyant likes of Sam Hayakawa, John Tunney, George Murphy and Pierre Salinger. As a result, Wilson has deliberately kept a low profile in his first term, reasoning that California voters are most likely to turn out an incumbent when they have cause for complaint. For McCarthy, the Wilson strategy has so far proven frustratingly successful. The Democrat has had to go on the offense, and that makes him vulnerable to mistakes. In addition, Wilson so far has a commanding lead in raising money, which gives him the resources to counter each McCarthy move. All this has resulted in McCarthy trailing in the polls, despite the fact that fellow Democrat Mike Dukakis is holding a substantial lead in the state. Still, the election is some time away and the fate of U.S. senatorial candidates often changes with the national mood. If problems continue to plague the remaining months of the Reagan administration, or the economy goes into a slide, McCarthy may yet find he can ride a national tide into office.

PROPOSITIONS

The state's voters faced a confusing ballot, containing a dozen measures, and they returned a mixed message about their wishes

They apparently don't have much faith is the current electorial system, giving their approval to two campaign reform measures — Proposition 68, sponsored by Common Cause; and Proposition 73, sponsored by the unlikely trio of Assemblyman Ross Johnson and Senators Quentin Kopp and Joseph Montoya. Although both measures passed with solid margins, 68 by more than 5 percentage points, and 73 by 16 points, the two have numerous areas of conflict and the message of the voters is unclear.

Does the electorate approve of spending public money to finance election campaigns? Well, a majority of voters approved Proposition 68, and it would provide for taxpayer financing of legislative campaigns. But Proposition 73, which got an even bigger margin of approval, specifically bans the use of taxpayer money at all levels of government. State law provides that when successful ballot measures conflict, the one with the most votes takes effect. However, backers of Prop 68 say that some provisions of their measure are not covered by Prop 73, and those provisions should still be valid. Both the Attorney General and the Fair Political Practices Commission are studying the two measures. Most of the provisions of Props 68 and 73 take effect at the first of the year.

The provision of Proposition 73 which promises to have the most immediate effect, however, is a clause saying all money raised so far cannot be used in campaigns after the year ends. That means that anyone sitting on a big campaign warchest, such as Governor George Deukmejian (with more than $1.3 million), Attorney General John Van de Kamp (with $1.5 million) or Controller Gray Davis (with more than $1 million) will have to spend the money before the end of the year. They could give it to charity, or back to their contributors with the hope that it will return next year. But a more likely approach will be to give it to other candidates. That could make this the biggest-spending election year ever.

As for the voters' attitude toward the expansion of state services, sentiments were about as always: They want to spend more, but they don't want to be taxed to pay for it, which probably explains why most candidates campaign on that very platform.

The voters didn't want to chance that their overall tax burden would be increased, so they turned down both of the measures designed to modify the state's Gann spending limit — Proposition 71, backed primarily by the state's education community; and Proposition 72, backed by Gann himself. The margin was close for Proposition 71; not so for Proposition 72.

That negative message about spending limits, however, apparently doesn't apply to specific spending programs: voters generally liked those, too. They approved bond issues, which totalled $2.236 billion in June, including $776 million for parks, $800 million for schools, $510 million for veterans' home loans, and $150 million for housing construction and rehabilitation.

	# of votes	% of votes
Proposition 66 — Election of County Assessors		
Yes	**3,762,628**	**74%**
No	1,355,718	27%
Proposition 67 — Second-Degree Murder		
Yes	**4,404,699**	**82%**
No	962,438	18%
Proposition 68 — Legislative Campaigns		
Yes	**2,748,305**	**53%**
No	2,458,250	47%
Proposition 69 — AIDS		
Yes	1,714,927	32%
No	**3,649,424**	**68%**
Proposition 70 — Wildlife Bond Act		
Yes	**3,468,983**	**65%**
No	1,852,373	35%
Proposition 71 — Appropriations Limit Adjustment		
Yes	2,501,591	49%
No	**2,614,563**	**51%**
Proposition 72 — Emergency Reserve		
Yes	2,008,477	39%
No	**3,205,630**	**62%**
Proposition 73 — Campaign Funding		
Yes	**3,081,798**	**58%**
No	2,235,996	42%
Proposition 74 — Transportation Bond Act		
Yes	2,591,219	50%
No	**2,594,027**	**50%**
Proposition 75 — School Construction Bond Act		
Yes	**3,457,572**	**65%**
No	1,862,690	35%
Proposition 76 — Cal-Vet Bond Act		
Yes	**3,542,302**	**68%**
No	1,699,100	32%
Proposition 77 — Earthquake Rehabilitation Bond Act		
Yes	**2,969,110**	**56%**
No	2,312,055	44%

In fact it appears the only bond measure the voters didn't like was Governor Deukmejian's proposal for $1 billion in general-obligation bonds to finance new highway construction. The results in this election were extremely close, however. The margin was less than 3000 votes out of more than 5 million cast, and it is still possible that the outcome could change before all votes are counted sometime this month. Backers of additional highway construction are interpreting the results to mean the voters are unhappy with the idea of general-obligation bonds to finance construction and would prefer the traditional California method of paying for highways through the gasoline tax — not that voters fail to see a need for more highway construction. In either case, the failure of the measure has to be viewed as a major political setback for Governor George Deukmejian, who put some of his own money into the campaign and also flew around in helicopters pretending he was a traffic reporter in order to

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promote the measure.

The irony in all this is that to get his transportation bond on the ballot, Deukmejian had to agree to the other bond measures being pushed by liberal Democrats. Should his transportation bond eventually fail, the Democrats would have gotten all they asked for, while Deukmejian would have been left with nothing more than a political black eye.

Also approved by the voters was a constitutional amendment requiring that county assessors be elected — they all are now — and a measure that increases prison terms for those who kill police officers. Turned down by voters for the second time was a measure pushed by the backers of Lyndon LaRouche that might have forced the quarantine of AIDS victims.

CONGRESS

DISTRICT 1 (56% D - 33% R)

Bosco (D*)	**62,358**	**(68%)**
Cherney (D)	5,152	(6%)
Gambill (D)	13,164	(14%)
Sinclair (D)	11,295	(12%)
Covarrubias Jr. (R)	12,501	(28%)
Vanderbilt (R)	**32,769**	**(72%)**
Fried (P&F)	**406**	**(100%)**

Incumbent Doug Bosco held off challenges by three other Democrats, winning nearly 68 percent of the Democratic vote in this fractious North Coast congressional district. He'll face Republican Mark Vanderbilt of Clear Lake in the runoff, but there's no reason at this point that Bosco won't win a fourth term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 2 (47% D - 42% R)

Meyer (D)	**59,626**	**(100%)**
Herger (R*)	**64,867**	**(100%)**
Pendery (L)	**288**	**(100%)**

Incumbent Republican Wally Herger's real challenge was two years ago when there was no incumbent because of the retirement of Gene Chappie. But Herger beat a determined challenge from Shasta County Supervisor Steve Swendiman, who managed only 40 percent of the vote in this solidly GOP district in the northeastern quadrant of the state. Challenger Wayne Meyer of Sutter probably has even less of a chance. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 3 (56% D - 34% R)

Matsui (D*)	**88,819**	**(100%)**
Landowski (R)	**30,044**	**(55%)**
Perdue (R)	24,820	(45%)

Democrat Robert Matsui gets a rematch against Republican Lowell Landowski, who himself beat the same opponent two years ago for the right to make the suicide run against Matsui. Maybe Landowski thinks he can make something of the fact that Matsui flirted briefly with the idea of running for the U. S. Senate. But Landowksi's only real challenge will be to top the 24 percent of the vote he had the first time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

Key to symbols:

D = Democratic
R = Republican
AIP = American Independent Party
L = Libertarian
P&F = Peace and Freedom
* = Incumbent
(%) = vote percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number, accounting for the fact that some races generated more than 100 percent of the vote.

Source for vote totals — secretary of state's office.

DISTRICT 4 (54% D - 34% R)

Fazio (D*)	**73,684**	**(100%)**

Fazio, once a Republican target because he carried congressional pay raise bills, is now getting a free ride. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (65% D - 19% R)

Pelosi (D*)	**74,170**	**(100%)**
O'Neill (R)	**13,711**	**(66%)**
Spinosa (R)	7,231	(35%)
Grove (L)	**258**	**(100%)**
Zuur (P&F)	**260**	**(100%)**

This will be Nancy Pelosi's first run for a full term in the House. She won the seat a year ago in a special election after the death of Sala Burton, widow of Phil Burton. She had her foremost challenge in the primary that year, beating Gay San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt for the Democratic nomination. Now she should settle safely into this very Democratic seat that Burton originally carved out as his own. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 6 (58% D - 27% R)

Boxer (D*)	**83,884**	**(100%)**
Ernst III (R)	8,842	(26%)
Steinmetz (R)	**25,667**	**(74%)**

This is another district drawn for a Burton, in this case Phil's brother John. But the younger Burton, now in the Assembly, never occupied the new congressional seat, which centers in Marin County but sprawls all over north San Francisco Bay in search of Democrats. When John Burton declined to run for the post, it was captured by Boxer who has occupied it without a serious challenge. This time she will face a new challenger, William Steinmetz of Mill Valley, who beat the 1986 Republican nominee for the dubious right to face Boxer. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (55% D -34% R)

Miller (D*)	**80,410**	**(100%)**
Last (R)	**39,123**	**(100%)**

This district is only marginally Democratic; in fact Ronald Reagan narrowly carried it four years ago. But incumbent George Miller has represented the area for 14 years, and although he may be slightly more liberal that his constituents, they have shown no inclination to turn him out of office. The same year they were voting for Reagan, the voters gave 67 percent of their votes to Miller. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (64% D - 24% R)

Dellums (D*)	**95,804**	**(100%)**
Cuddihy Jr. (R)	**15,119**	**(51%)**
Garris (R)	14,328	(49%)
Condit (P&F)	**290**	**(100%)**

This is a district where the man who is arguably the state's most liberal congressman can thrive. Although some of his constituents from eastern Contra Costa County may find him objectionable, incumbent Ron Dellums pulls enough votes from the Oakland and Berkeley areas to give him eight terms in the House. John J. Cuddidy Jr. of Lafayette will try and stop that streak, but he hasn't much chance of success. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 9 (59% D - 29% R)

Stark (D*)	**72,651**	**(100%)**
Hertz (R)	**29,891**	**(100%)**

Incumbent Pete Stark usually gets 70 percent of the vote or so in this east San Francisco Bay district. This year should be an encore against Republican Howard Hertz. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 10 (59% D - 28% R)

Edwards (D*)	**47,437**	**(83%)**
Chavez (D)	9,708	(17%)
Watson (L)	**214**	**(100%)**

Republicans haven't even bothered to field an opponent against 12-term incumbent Don Edwards of San Jose. But Edwards did have to turn back a challenge from his own party, beating planner Anselmo Chavez. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (56% D - 32% R)

Lantos (D*)	**64,117**	**(100%)**
Quraishi (R)	**28,048**	**(100%)**
Kudrovzeff (AIP)	**240**	**(100%)**
Wade (L)	**188**	**(100%)**
Martinez (P&F)	**109**	**(100%)**

The question in this district: Will incumbent Tom Lantos be able to collect more than the 74 percent of the vote he had two years ago when he faces businessman Quraishi for the second time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (44% D - 42% R)

Bond (D)	3,894	(6%)
Eshoo (D)	**30,306**	**(43%)**
Garrison (D)	25,574	(37%)
Macias (D)	3,849	(6%)
Simmons (D)	6,217	(9%)
Konnyu (R*)	29,409	(42%)
Campbell (R)	**40,845**	**(58%)**
Grey (L)	**535**	**(100%)**

This is one of the few districts in the nation to turn out an incumbent congressman; in this case, first-term Republican Ernest Konnyu. The blunt-spoken Konnyu, a Hungarian immigrant, just wasn't sophisticated enough for this well-heeled, high-tech district on the San Francisco peninsula. Konnyu got in trouble early with charges that he had sexually harassed his aides. Some of Silicon Valley's biggest guns, including former congressmen Ed Zschau and Pete Mc-

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Closky and industrialist David Packard, backed his opponent — Stanford University professor Tom Campbell. Although the Republican congressional delegation came to Konnyu's aid, Campbell beat him easily,

Campbell

Eshoo

collecting more than 58 percent of the vote. The switch doesn't bode well for the Democratic challenger, San Mateo County Supervisor Anna Eshoo. She had hoped to face a roughed-up Konnyu in November. Instead, she must deal with Campbell, who fits the district better than the incumbent. Still, this is one of only three open congressional districts in the state, and the Democrats, despite unfavorable registration figures, will probably give it a shot. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 13 (50% D - 37% R)

Mineta (D*)	**57,800**	**(100%)**
Eskes (R)	19,565	(48%)
Sommer (R)	**20,838**	**(52%)**
Webster (L)	**395**	**(100%)**

Republicans like their prospects in this San Jose centered district, but not while it's held by six-term incumbent Norman Mineta who will face businessman Luke Sommer in the fall. Eskes, by the way, is apparently the only retired lieutenant colonel to lose a Republican primary in the state. Other retired lieutenant colonels, if only as surrogates, did very well in Orange County. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (47% D - 43% R)

Malberg (D)	**68,569**	**(100%)**
Shumway (R*)	**72,584**	**(100%)**

Patricia Malberg of Lincoln says she is raising lots of money, has lots of local support and will surprise fifth-term incumbent Norm Shumway in November, despite the fact that district registration is slightly more Republican than in the past. We admire her spunk, but suspect she needs glass cleaner for her crystal ball. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 15 (56% D - 35% R)

Coelho (D*)	**49,278**	**(90%)**
Mansell (D)	5,354	(10%)
Harner (R)	**31,603**	**(100%)**
Harris (L)	**80**	**(100%)**

Congress' majority whip, Tony Coelho, is now the third most powerful person in the House of Representatives. Rancher Carol Harner will try and put an end to that, without much chance of success. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 16 (52% D - 35% R)

Panetta (D*)	**74,948**	**(95%)**
Dunn (D)	3,956	(5%)
Darrigo (R)	22,366	(50%)
Monteith (R)	**22,557**	**(50%)**

Five-term incumbent Leon Panetta will have a new opponent this time, physician Stanley Monteith, who beat Louis Darrigo in the primary. Darrigo is the man who lost to Panetta two years ago. A new opponent, however, shouldn't make much difference to Panetta, who regularly polls ahead of the marginal registration in this coastal district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (50% D - 41% R)

Lavery (D)	**38,730**	**(100%)**
Pashayan (R*)	**46,058**	**(100%)**

Ten-year incumbent Chip Pashayan expects to have an even easier time this year against educator Vincent Lavery of Fresno. Two years ago, Democrats thought they had a hot prospect when an aide to neighboring Congressman Rick Lehman ran for the seat. But he got only 40 percent of the vote. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 18 (61% D - 31% R)

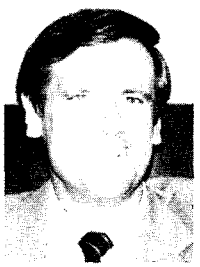
Lehman (D*)	**61,208**	**(100%)**
Linn (R)	**33,167**	**(100%)**

This is the most Democratic district in the central valley, created as a safe home for incumbent Rick Lehman, who should return for his fourth term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 19 (46% D - 41% R)

Hart (D)	**60,873**	**(100%)**
Lagomarsino (R*)	**53,712**	**(100%)**
Donaldson (L)	**224**	**(100%)**

This promises to be, perhaps, the most interesting congressional race in the state. State Senator Gary Hart is taking on 14-year veteran Robert Lagomarsino. Both are popular with district voters. The registration



Hart

Lagomarsino

would favor a Republican, but voters along the coast have strong environmental concerns and frequently are willing to vote for Democrats, including Hart and Assemblyman Jack O'Connell. A lot of money should be spent by both sides on this campaign, and Lagomarsino may need a strong economy and perhaps a Reagan foreign-policy success to keep him from office. TOSSUP.

DISTRICT 20 (44% D - 47% R)

Reid (D)	**45,555**	**(100%)**
Thomas (R*)	**64,637**	**(100%)**
Bersohn (L)	**206**	**(100%)**

Things won't be at all exciting in this Bakersfield district. Incumbent Bill Thomas should have little trouble beating journalist Lita Reid. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 21 (38% D - 52% R)

Stevens (D)	**43,850**	**(100%)**
Gallegly (R*)	**56,356**	**(82%)**
Desko (R)	2,806	(4%)
Korman (R)	9,560	(14%)
Jay (L)	**273**	**(100%)**

First-term incumbent Elton Gallegly drew two Republican primary opponents but had little trouble holding onto the nomination in this solidly Republican district. He had more trouble two years ago when he had to beat the son of comedian Bob Hope to get the nomination. Now he should have a long, safe tenure in this very Republican district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 22 (35% D - 55% R)

Simmons (D)	**43,033**	**(100%)**
Moorhead (R*)	**67,147**	**(87%)**
Headrick (R)	10,274	(13%)
Brown (L)	**261**	**(100%)**
Isaacson (P&F)	**98**	**(100%)**

Incumbent Carlos Moorhead usually gets between 75 and 85 percent of the vote in this district, located in the Glendale and San Gabriel valleys of Los Angeles. He should repeat for a ninth term this year. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (54% D - 37% R)

Beilenson (D*)	**67,455**	**(84%)**
Marmillion (D)	12,705	(16%)
Salomon (R)	**35,108**	**(100%)**
Vernon (L)	**244**	**(100%)**
Honigsfeld (P&F)	**134**	**(100%)**

Republicans like to think they can mount a serious challenge to incumbent Tony Beilenson in this marginally Democratic district that includes some of the ritzy areas of the Los Angeles westside and the San Fernando Valley. But Beilenson's popularity with voters is apparently undampened. Two years ago, for example, he won 66 percent of the vote, while Ronald Reagan was taking the district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (60% D - 28% R)

Waxman (D*)	**56,488**	**(100%)**
Annenberg (R)	4,801	(25%)
Cowles (R)	**9,509**	**(50%)**
De Gruccio (R)	4,851	(25%)
Abrahams (L)	**231**	**(100%)**
Green (P&F)	**176**	**(100%)**

It's become impossible to write the name Henry Waxman without putting the word "powerful" in front of it. Waxman is an imposing figure both in the House and for his influence over California politics. His westside constituents know it, and will likely give him a big victory over businessman John Cowels in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (69% D - 21% R)

Roybal (D*)	**41,074**	**(100%)**
Thie (L)	**111**	**(100%)**
Reyes (P&F)	**197**	**(100%)**

If this district gets any safer for twenty-six-year veteran Ed Roybal, they won't even bother holding elections. In fact, the Republicans decided to get a head start; they've got no one on the ballot. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (57% D - 34% R)

Berman (D*)	**60,493**	**(100%)**
Broderson (R)	**27,803**	**(100%)**

The junior congressman in the "Waxman-Berman" political machine should have little trouble with reelection. That will give him more time to help out Matthew Martinez, who might need it. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 27 (54% D - 34% R)

Levine (D*)	**66,157**	**(89%)**
Cole (D)	8,638	(12%)
Galbraith (R)	**35,076**	**(100%)**
Fulco (L)	**306**	**(100%)**

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Mel Levine may finally have an easier time winning reelection. In his two previous elections, Levine faced former LA Rams running back Rod Scribner, who last time spent $400,000 in a losing effort. Republicans may have finally decided that despite the slim Democratic margin, Levine is too well entrenched for them to win. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 28 (73% D - 19% R)

Dixon (D*)	**75,943**	**(100%)**
Adams (R)	**13,679**	**(100%)**
Johnson (L)	**105**	**(100%)**
Honigsfeld (P&F)	**96**	**(100%)**

As if Congressman Julian Dixon needed any help winning his sixth term in this district — the second highest Democratic registration of any in the state — he is heading up the House Ethics Committee investigation into the affairs of Speaker Jim Wright of Texas, which should give Dixon an added measure of publicity before election day. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (83% D - 11% R)

Hawkins (D*)	**60,354**	**(90%)**
Evans (D)	6,486	(10%)
Franco (R)	**6,935**	**(100%)**
Gilmore (L)	**29**	**(100%)**

Gus Hawkins, 80, has occupied this district, the most Democratic in the state, for 24 years. He just turned back the primary challenge of Mervin Evans for the third time, although Evans did a little better this year, winning 10 percent of the vote compared to only 7 percent two years ago. In fact, it's probably not much worse than Republican Ruben Franco will do in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 30 (60% D - 30% R)

Martinez (D*)	**33,531**	**(74%)**
Chen (D)	12,039	(26%)
Kowell (R)	3,793	(19%)
Radlovic (R)	7,481	(37%)
Ramirez (R)	**9,025**	**(45%)**
Myers (AIP)	**165**	**(100%)**
Goldsworthy (L)	**60**	**(100%)**

Incumbent Matthew Martinez held off a spirited primary challenge from Monterey Park's Lily Chen. Although this district should be easy, Martinez has always had

Martinez

tough contests, aided by the fact that he isn't the most dynamic representative from California. The Waxman-Berman folk, who are responsible for Martinez being in office in the first place, will have to wage a strong campaign to defend him from Monterey Park businessman Ralph Ramirez. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (71% D - 20% R)

Dymally (D*)	**58,655**	**(85%)**
O'Brien (D)	10,016	(15%)
May (R)	**13,849**	**(100%)**
Duren (P&F)	**84**	**(100%)**

Incumbent Mervin Dymally had no trouble winning in the primary, and he should have about as much trouble in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (56% D - 34% R)

Anderson (D*)	**56,682**	**(100%)**
Allen Jr. (R)	14,569	(50%)
Kahn (R)	**14,820**	**(50%)**
Denny (L)	**137**	**(100%)**
Murdock (P&F)	**110**	**(100%)**

Glenn Anderson won't be able to say he's the man who tossed the third strike to Republican Lionel Allen Jr. That's because businessman Sanford Kahn beat him to the punch. Kahn eked out a narrow victory over Allen — who has run for Congress twice before, each time in a different district — for the dubious honor of running against Anderson. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 33 (43% D - 48% R)

Gentry (D)	**24,615**	**(56%)**
Kraft (D)	19,432	(44%)
Dreier (R*)	**56,077**	**(100%)**
Lightfoot (L)	**145**	**(100%)**
Noonan (P&F)	**88**	**(100%)**

David Dreier is sitting on a $1 million campaign warchest. He'll need about 1 percent of that to beat Attorney Nelson Gentry in the general election. Wonder what he'll do with the rest? SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 34 (62% D - 30% R)

Torres (D*)	**45,188**	**(100%)**
House (R)	**20,517**	**(100%)**
Swinney (L)	**75**	**(100%)**

Incumbent Esteban Torres again faces sheriff's sergeant Charles House, whom he beat by getting 60 percent of the vote two years ago. November should be a repeat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 35 (39% D - 50% R)

Norton (D)	14,047	(28%)
Sweeney (D)	**36,130**	**(72%)**
Lewis (R*)	**68,054**	**(100%)**
Shuman (L)	**206**	**(100%)**

Five-term incumbent Jerry Lewis spent his primary season trying to get his brother John elected to the state Assembly. That didn't work, but Lewis will have a lot less trouble getting himself back to Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 36 (55% D - 36% R)

Brown Jr. (D*)	**46,894**	**(82%)**
Sparks (D)	10,188	(18%)
Barela (R)	5,611	(16%)
Davis (R)	7,987	(23%)
Graham (R)	2,294	(7%)
Kerns (R)	2,725	(8%)
Stark (R)	**15,838**	**(46%)**
Anderson (AIP)	**465**	**(100%)**
Valentine (L)	**128**	**(100%)**

Two years ago, John Paul Stark decided to take the election season off. He didn't run against incumbent George Brown Jr. Now Stark is back and will be making his fourth attempt to beat Brown, one of the more liberal members of the House. Republicans always think Brown is vulnerable, that this district is too conservative for him. But Brown always pulls out a victory. You'd think Stark, of all people, would know better. Still, there aren't that many interesting

Stark

Brown

congressional races, and the GOP may not have anything better to do with its money. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 37 (44% D - 47% R)

Boyajian (D)	21,898	(40%)
Pearson (D)	**33,166**	**(60%)**
McCandless (R*)	**57,094**	**(83%)**
Mathewson (R)	11,609	(17%)
Flickinger (L)	**185**	**(100%)**

No Republican can lose this Riverside County desert district, except, perhaps if Robert Presley gets tired of the state Senate. But incumbent Al McCandless can rest easy, at least for this year. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 38 (49% D - 41% R)

Yudelson (D)	**30,234**	**(100%)**
Dornan (R*)	**31,020**	**(100%)**
McKay (L)	**203**	**(100%)**
German (P&F)	**79**	**(100%)**

There will always be a spirited campaign in the 38th District, as long as the job is held by flamboyant, outspoken "B1 Bob" Dornan. Dornan had a formidable foe two years ago in Assemblyman Richard Robinson. It was an expensive, messy campaign, but Dornan won comfortably. This year, Dornan has been more restrained, even joining the presidential campaign of George Bush. He should have no trouble beating business executive Jerry Yudelson. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 39 (34% D - 57% R)

Marquis (D)	**32,781**	**(100%)**
Dannemeyer (R*)	**63,321**	**(85%)**
Gullixson (R)	10,905	(15%)
Connelly (L)	**275**	**(100%)**

Congressman Bill Dannemeyer wants to move on to higher office, and he's perfectly willing to pull most any stunt to draw attention to himself. But in this district, which is the most Republican in the state, that only endears him to the voters. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 40 (31% R - 58% D)

Lenney (D)	**26,172**	**(58%)**
Margolis (D)	18,678	(42%)
Baker (R)	28,588	(29%)
Buffa (R)	447	(1%)
Cox (R)	**29,760**	**(31%)**
DeVore (R)	1,008	(1%)
Hylton (R)	3,987	(4%)
Kelly (R)	4,080	(4%)
Kiernik (R)	285	(0%)
Kishel (R)	1,486	(2%)
Latham (R)	2,048	(2%)
Rosenberg (R)	17,165	(18%)
Sternberg (R)	789	(1%)
Swan (R)	652	(1%)
Williams (R)	713	(1%)
Yacobozzi Jr. (R)	6,145	(6%)
Bloxham (L)	**391**	**(100%)**

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Farsai (P&F)	**96**	**(100%)**

Ollie North won this district. In fact, it's one of two in the state where North, the former lieutenant colonel who was indicted for his role in the Iran-Contra scandal but won the hearts of many conservatives, may have made the difference in who will be going to Congress. This seat is currently held by Bob Badham, who is retiring this year. Fourteen Republicans competed for the seat, one of the most Republican in the state, but the nod went to Christopher Cox, a former White House aide who called on his old chum North, who made a last minute personal appearance on behalf of the candi-

Rohrabacher **Cox**

date. Now Cox should have little trouble beating Democrat Lida Lenney in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 41 (39% D - 47% R)

Kripke (D)	**48,743**	**(100%)**
Lowery (R*)	**62,325**	**(89%)**
Singer (R)	7,946	(11%)
Rider (L)	**384**	**(100%)**
Weber (P&F)	**92**	**(100%)**

With his seat on the Appropriations Committee, incumbent Bill Lowery is in a good position to take care of San Diego's military installations. His constituents, heavily Republican, appreciate that. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (37% D - 52% R)

Farrell (D)	7,752	(16%)
Kimbrough (D)	**23,320**	**(48%)**
Unruh (D)	17,562	(36%)
Bauer (R)	2,474	(3%)
Burns (R)	2,162	(3%)
Davis (R)	2,203	(3%)
Horn (R)	15,778	(20%)
Littlefair (R)	6,514	(8%)
Rohrabacher (R)	**27,211**	**(35%)**
Welbourn (R)	4,338	(6%)
Wieder (R)	16,888	(22%)
Rose (P&F)	**103**	**(100%)**

Another Ollie North victory, this time with another former White House aide, Dana Rohrabacher, as the stand-in. This is the district that opened up when Dan Lungren was appointed by George Deukmejian to be the next state treasurer. Unfortunately for Lungren, he was faced with the prospect of dropping out of Congress or appearing not to have much faith that his nomination, now before the state Supreme Court, would come through. His withdrawal, and the subsequent withdrawal of Assemblyman Gerald Felando, opened up the field. The early favorite was Orange County Supervisor Harriet Wieder. But she was harmed by revelations that her claimed college degree was a phony and by the strong campaign waged by Steve Horn, president of Cal State Long Beach. That opened the field for Rohrabacher, who is now all but certain to win in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 43 (31% D - 56% R)

Greenebaum (D)	**37,517**	**(100%)**
Packard (R*)	**85,646**	**(100%)**
Muhe (L)	**339**	**(100%)**

Incumbent Ron Packard has all his tough races behind him. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 44 (56% D - 32% R)

Bates (D*)	**43,162**	**(100%)**
Acle (R)	10,067	(43%)
Butterfield (R)	**13,636**	**(58%)**
Thompson (L)	**147**	**(100%)**

All the Democrats in San Diego were rounded up and put in this district for Jim Bates, and they seem comfortable with his independent style. Republicans occasionally look wistfully at this district, but that's about it. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 45 (38% D - 48% R)

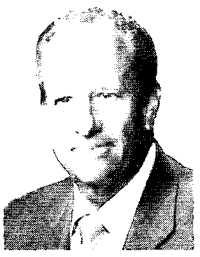
Lepiscopo (D)	**37,809**	**(100%)**
Hunter (R*)	**60,666**	**(100%)**
Willis (L)	**223**	**(100%)**

The San Diego Republicans who were taken out of Bates' district were left for popular Congressman Duncan Hunter, who can expect to win his fourth term in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

SENATE

DISTRICT 1 (47% D - 42% R)

Whiteaker (D)	**72,846**	**(100%)**
Doolittle (R*)	**76,921**	**(100%)**



Whiteaker **Doolittle**

To the Democrats, John Doolittle is like a character out of some horror movie. First, he attacks and beats a kindly old senator. Then they try to destroy him by reapportioning him out of his district, and he comes back to life. Next, they throw a solid incumbent at him, beat him, and he still comes back to life. Despite all this, Democrats remain convinced that the creature from the right can be beaten, and this time Yuba County Sheriff Roy Whiteaker gets the nod. One Democratic campaign consultant said the job will only take $1 million. Given the amount of campaign cash that might be available this year, that's possible. But our money is still on the creature. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 3 (58% D - 25% R)

Marks (D*)	**84,398**	**(100%)**
Marshall (R)	**32,476**	**(100%)**
Pickens (L)	**394**	**(100%)**
Rodriguez (P&F)	**270**	**(100%)**

Milton Marks was once a Republican, and he still managed to win this San Francisco district by sizable majorities. Now that he's a Democrat his majorities should be even bigger. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (54% D - 36% R)

Garamendi (D*)	**86,126**	**(100%)**
Lawrence (R)	**54,107**	**(100%)**

Republicans make soft clucking noises about this Sierra Gold Rush district and how its incumbent John Garamendi may have gone to the well once too often in his fruitless quest for higher office. But Garamendi still collects big majorities here, even though Republicans win other races. That will make things tough on Stockton's Sam Lawrence. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (54% D - 35% R)

Boatwright (D*)	**56,158**	**(54%)**
McPeak (D)	48,075	(46%)
Pollacek (R)	**47,314**	**(100%)**

Dan Boatwright dodged a bullet when he beat Contra Costa County Supervisor Sunny McPeak in the Democratic primary. It cost Boatwright and other Senate Democrats a bundle, though, close to $1 million. That could leave Boatwright roughed up for the general and facing a determined challenge from Martinez Councilman Bill Pollacek in a district that's only marginally Democratic. Unfortunately for the GOP, McPeak ran something of a soft campaign against Boatwright. Also, the incumbent is a dogged campaigner, as he proved against McPeak, and the district is still covered with

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Morgan

Boatwright

his signs from the primary. *LEANS DEMOCRATIC.*

DISTRICT 9 (67% D - 21% R)

Petris (D*)	**92,277**	**(84%)**
Reyna (D)	16,994	(16%)
Heagney (R)	5,553	(20%)
Henson (R)	**14,579**	**(52%)**
Spaulding (R)	7,741	(28%)
Evans (P&F)	**309**	**(100%)**

Why are all these Republicans anxious to run aginst Nick Petris? Must be the thrill of the hunt. But in this case, the lion will win, again. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (46% D - 41% R)

Mack Jr. (D)	**61,205**	**(100%)**
Morgan (R*)	**65,731**	**(100%)**
Olson (L)	**437**	**(100%)**

Earlier this year, Republicans were worried that they would have to pull out all the stops to defend first-term incumbent Becky Morgan, who had to spend a fortune four years ago to make it to the Legislature. But Democrats have failed to produce a name candidate, and Republicans are optimistic that Morgan will have an easy time of it. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 13 (55% D - 32% R)

Alquist (D*)	**61,425**	**(100%)**
Bertolet (R)	**32,329**	**(100%)**
Inks (L)	**431**	**(100%)**

Al Alquist is making plans for his 80th birthday party this summer and for spending four more years in the Senate, which will give him a total of 26. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 15 (52% D - 40% R)

Vuich (D*)	**57,266**	**(100%)**

Rose Vuich made George Deukmejian mad when she voted against Dan Lungren, the governor's nominee for state treasurer. But then someone noticed that the popular senator from Dinuba had no opponent. So a volunteer was found. Unfortunately, he failed to get enough write-in votes to make the ballot. So Vuich will return for another four years, and Deukmejian can just stew. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (53% D - 34% R)

Mello (D*)	**73,636**	**(100%)**
Damkar (R)	**44,142**	**(100%)**

Henry Mello has been the swing vote on the Senate Rules Committee, and that has resulted in some people being mad at him some of the time. He also comes from a marginally Democratic district along the central California coast. Those two things make Republicans think they might be able to beat him, and San Benito District Attorney Harry Damkar has been recruited to make the plunge. But Republicans along the coast are more liberal than in other parts of the state, and while Mello may be nervous, he should also win. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 19 (38% D - 52% R)

Martin (D)	**48,774**	**(100%)**
Davis (R*)	**73,251**	**(100%)**
Starr (L)	**270**	**(100%)**

Ed Davis will have no trouble winning a third term from this very Republican district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 21 (36% D - 55% R)

Gelber (D)	**48,921**	**(100%)**
Russell (R*)	**85,555**	**(100%)**
Scott (L)	**298**	**(100%)**
Blumenthal (P&F)	**93**	**(100%)**

Another district where Democrats need not apply. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (59% D - 29% R)

Roberti (D*)	**61,660**	**(100%)**
Larkin (R)	**14,296**	**(59%)**
Michael (R)	5,132	(21%)
Roberts (R)	4,850	(20%)
Foster (L)	**239**	**(100%)**
Nakano (P&F)	**208**	**(100%)**

There was talk that feminist attorney Gloria Allred might take on Senate President pro Tem David Roberti in the primary. She didn't, and that's the last worrying Roberti will have to do. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (39% D - 51% R)

Cook (D)	18,260	(30%)
Hester (D)	**23,606**	**(38%)**
McElwain (D)	19,593	(32%)
Leonard (R)	**56,248**	**(68%)**
Osko (R)	26,300	(32%)

The retirement of H. L. "Bill" Richardson gave several Republicans in the Assembly the idea of moving up. But Redlands' Bill Leonard has wanted the seat for a long time, and the others decided not to challenge him. Although he faced a primary challenge from retired Judge Gene Osko, who lives in the Los Angeles County portion of the district that is new to Leonard, the assembly-

Hester

Leonard

man won the primary without too much difficulty. Democrats have a bright, attractive candidate in college administrator Sandy Hester, but prospects for their party are extremly slim here. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 27 (84% D - 9% R)

Greene (D*)	**63,422**	**(89%)**
Smith (D)	7,787	(11%)
Brown (R)	1,761	(39%)
Neely (R)	**2,813**	**(62%)**
Artz (P&F)	**94**	**(100%)**

There are Republicans in this district. And both of them ran in the primary against Bill Greene. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (41% D - 48% R)

Hachmeister (D)	**33,722**	**(56%)**
Wong (D)	26,371	(44%)
Beverly (R*)	**66,514**	**(100%)**
Kelley (L)	**322**	**(100%)**

Bob Beverly has spent 20 years in the Assembly and Senate representing this Los Angeles County coastal district. He'll be back for four more. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 31 (37% D - 53% R)

Caress (D)	20,437	(40%)
Graham (D)	**30,486**	**(60%)**
Campbell (R*)	**81,324**	**(100%)**

Bill Campbell wants to be a statewide office holder. He ran for controller and lost. He wanted to be appointed treasurer and didn't get it. But his constituents in Orange and Los Angeles counties can be expected to be nicer to him. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 33 (53% D - 38% R)

Green (D*)	**55,849**	**(100%)**
Knabe (R)	**30,154**	**(73%)**
Vineyard (R)	11,030	(27%)

This is the scene of the most expensive state Senate race ever, an event that was held only a year ago between incumbent Cecil Green and Assemblyman Wayne Grisham. Green, pleasant but not particularly dynam-

C. Green

ic, is now faced with the unpleasant task of defending himself. This time he will face Cerritos Councilman Don Knabe, who many thought should have been his opponent in the first place. Knabe, however, bowed out of the first contest at the urging of Governor Deukmejian and other elected officials who thought Grisham should have first crack at the job. Both sides expect even more money to be spent here this year, and voters can look forward to more free donuts on election day. TOSSUP.

DISTRICT 35 (34% D - 55% R)

Balmages (D)	**37,062**	**(100%)**
Seymour (R*)	**72,032**	**(100%)**
Quirk (P&F)	**100**	**(100%)**

Incumbent John Seymour may have lost his post as GOP Senate caucus chairman, but he won't lose his seat in the Senate. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 37 (34% D - 55% R)

McCabe (D)	**49,785**	**(100%)**
Bergeson (R*)	**96,081**	**(100%)**
Sugars (L)	**388**	**(100%)**

Marian Bergeson is finishing up her first term in the Senate, and she has proven to be one of the more thoughtful and effective legislators. She considered, briefly, the idea of running for Congress, but decided she was happier in Sacramento. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 39 (39% D - 48% R)

Berkson (D)	**45,991**	**(100%)**
Stirling (R)	**67,576**	**(100%)**
Hall (L)	**332**	**(100%)**

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Jim Ellis surprised most people earlier this year by deciding he'd had enough of Sacramento. His retirement left room for Assemblyman Larry Stirling, who was unopposed in the Republican primary and will have little more trouble winning in the general. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

ASSEMBLY

DISTRICT 1 (49% D - 40% R)

Caudle (D)	**37,836**	**(100%)**
Statham (R*)	**37,084**	**(100%)**

Once more into the breech for Caudle, who lost to Statham by 47,000 votes in 1986. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 2 (57% D - 31% R)

Hauser (D*)	**45,432**	**(100%)**
King (R)	**21,237**	**(100%)**

Hauser's toughest election battles are history. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 3 (45% D - 44% R)

Conklin (D)	**17,846**	**(54%)**
Harrison (D)	15,334	(46%)
Chandler (R*)	**37,160**	**(100%)**
Sweany (L)	**251**	**(100%)**

This is a solid Republican district, but there is always an outside chance Democrats will have enough money in their collective warchest to make a run at freshman Chandler. Democrat Conklin is a reforestation contractor from Grass Valley and no political heavyweight. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 4 (56% D - 31% R)

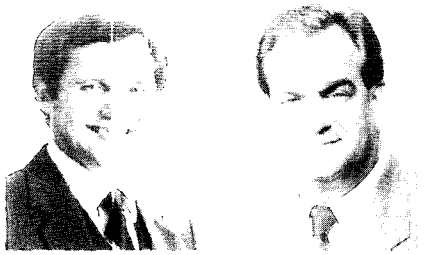
Hannigan (D*)	**42,471**	**(100%)**
Ford (R)	**20,252**	**(100%)**

Majority Leader Tom Hannigan's Republican opponent is John Ford. Not the movie director John Ford, the public-works supervisor John Ford who poses no, zero, challenge to Hannigan. Hannigan's challenges continue to appear on the Assembly floor where he now and then must stave off attempts to undo Willie Brown's speakership. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (49% D - 41% R)

Byouk (D)	**47,525**	**(100%)**
Leslie (R*)	**37,894**	**(100%)**

This could be an expensive donnybrook. Tim Leslie has just completed a relatively



Leslie **Byouk**

undistinguished freshman term representing a district that until 1986 was held by a Democrat. District representation is rapidly sliding away from Democrats, but John Byouk polled nearly 10,000 more primary votes than did the incumbent. Byouk has local government experience as a councilman and vice mayor from Roseville. Plus, he has some district-wide name recognition, having run in a heavily contested Democratic primary two years ago. Democrats could supply Byouk with massive amounts of campaign money. Leslie has the advantage of incumbency and a pipeline to the Assembly Republican Caucus' money trough. TOSSUP.

DISTRICT 6 (56% D - 34% R)

Connelly (D*)	**45,307**	**(100%)**
Gates (R)	**26,790**	**(100%)**

Mike Gates is a deputy attorney general. Lloyd Connelly is a three-term assemblyman who, before 1982, was a popular Sacramento city councilman. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (50% D - 39% R)

Waters (D*)	**49,519**	**(100%)**
Cross (R)	5,576	(14%)
Knowles (R)	**35,745**	**(87%)**

Democratic registration keeps eroding in what has always been a marginal district. But businessman David Knowles will need a barrel of money to unseat Waters, who appeals to both Democrats and Republicans. Waters, conservative for a Democrat, won by more than 40,000 votes in 1986. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (53% D - 37% R)

Ketron (D)	**37,307**	**(100%)**
Hansen (R*)	**36,405**	**(100%)**
Marlow (P&F)	**102**	**(100%)**

Bev Hansen overcame both Assembly caucuses to win her first term in 1986; Republicans in the primary, Democrats in the general. This time she has full support from her Republican colleagues and a reputation as a hard-working incumbent who has done well by her district. Democrat Bruce Ketron, a Santa Rosa attorney, is high on self esteem and says he has the support of the Legislature's self-esteem guru, John Vasconcellos. Unless other Assembly Democrats are willing to spend on his behalf, it won't matter. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 9 (53% D - 34% R)

Albritton (D)	22,411	(50%)
Parnell (D)	**22,678**	**(50%)**
Filante (R*)	**28,810**	**(100%)**

Bill Filante can always expect a stiff challenge in this marginal district. This year should prove no exception given the excess campaign cash that must be spent before the end of the year. That kind of money is always restless money. Filante's opponent is also a physician, Francis Parnell from Ross, who squeaked out a narrow 267-vote victory in the primary. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 10 (57% D - 33% R)

Isenberg (D*)	**46,523**	**(100%)**
Bowler (R)	**20,082**	**(68%)**
McKinley (R)	9,682	(33%)

Isenberg is now and then mentioned as a future speaker of the Assembly. After the November election, the situation may be so fluid in the lower house that the future could be now. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (65% D - 25% R)

Campbell (D*)	**44,696**	**(100%)**
Williams (R)	**14,464**	**(100%)**

Bob Campbell's endorsement of Sunne McPeak's failed attempt to oust Dan Boatwright (see Senate District 7) won't hurt him here. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (63% D - 24% R)

Bates (D*)	**61,855**	**(100%)**
Udinsky (R)	**16,735**	**(100%)**
Phillips (P&F)	**198**	**(100%)**

Jerald Udinsky must have reasons for running. Beating Tom Bates in Berkeley can't be one of them because Udinsky lost to the six-term incumbent in 1986, and his prospects aren't much better this time around. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 13 (73% D - 15% R)

Harris (D*)	**46,310**	**(100%)**
Mangrum (R)	**4,388**	**(57%)**
Matthews (R)	3,261	(43%)
Dizon (P&F)	**79**	**(100%)**

For the second time, Republican Paulette Matthews failed to win the GOP primary, thus sparing herself the problem of having to run against Elihu Harris. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (64% D - 25% R)

Klehs (D*)	**41,221**	**(100%)**
Eaton (R)	**14,445**	**(100%)**

A suicide run for Elliott Eaton, an environmental laboratory analyst from San Leandro. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 15 (37% D - 51% R)

Williams (D)	**27,331**	**(100%)**
Baker (R*)	**43,846**	**(100%)**

Nothing here will side-track Baker, a member of the Assembly Republican leadership. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 16 (69% D - 14% R)

Burton (D*)	**29,874**	**(65%)**
Achtenberg (D)	15,854	(35%)
Mavrogeorge (R)	**5,157**	**(71%)**
Woods (R)	2,153	(30%)
Meyer (L)	**128**	**(100%)**
Ehman (P&F)	**199**	**(100%)**

Not exactly a resounding vote of confidence for John Burton, who won the seat in an April special election against Achtenberg. The two were running to fill a vacancy left when Art Agnos became mayor of San Francisco. Achtenberg, a gay activist and attorney, announced after the special election that she would not contest the primary. She still managed more than a third of the vote. Not that Burton is threatened by the Republicans. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (64% D - 19% R)

W. Brown (D*)	**42,886**	**(100%)**
Augustine (R)	**7,207**	**(61%)**
Mark (R)	4,692	(39%)
Towers (P&F)	**151**	**(100%)**

Mr. Speaker is playing on so many stages these days, one often forgets that he is a candidate himself. He will handily win this election. Whether he remains Mr. Speaker will be decided elsewhere. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 18 (54% D - 32% R)

Eastin (D*)	**29,613**	**(100%)**
Castillo (R)	4,547	(27%)
Curry (R)	**12,059**	**(73%)**

Eastin has enjoyed a rock-solid freshman

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term and will have no trouble returning for another go-around. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 19 (61% D - 26% R)

Speier (D*)	**35,900**	**(100%)**
Mastoris (R)	5,803	(45%)
Silvestri (R)	**7,188**	**(55%)**
Pepi (P&F)	**62**	**(100%)**

Speier's toughest political battle took place in the Democratic primary two years ago. She should be able to spend this election season caring for her new baby. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 20 (46% D - 42% R)

Lempert (D)	**30,266**	**(100%)**
Duplissea (R*)	**30,152**	**(100%)**
Genis (L)	**135**	**(100%)**

Bill Duplissea should go find Stanford professor Tom Campbell and shake his hand and slap his back and thank him, thank him, thank him. Campbell's primary victory over first-term GOP Congressman Ernie Konnyu may have prevented an all-out war in the 12th Congressional District, which overlaps Duplissea's Assembly district. That all-out war could have roused up Democrats and possibly caused Duplissea some trouble. This district should always send a Republican to Sacramento, but two years ago Democrats nearly stole it away when it was an open seat. And with all the loose change floating around to fuel campaigns, Assembly Democrats may have tried to ambush Duplissea by tailgating on a hot congressional race against Konnyu. There will still be a tough congressional race in the area, but not one against an unpopular incumbent. Now that Konnyu is out of the way, Duplissea should be able to breathe a little easier. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 21 (53% D - 32% R)

Sher (D*)	**35,640**	**(100%)**
Goodwyn (L)	**271**	**(100%)**

Goodwyn can't win. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 22 (41% D - 46% R)

Yeamans (D)	**28,213**	**(100%)**
Quackenbush (R*)	**36,681**	**(100%)**

Yawn. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (60% D - 27% R)

Vasconcellos (D*)	**30,608**	**(100%)**
Knapp (R)	**12,949**	**(100%)**
Greene (L)	**205**	**(100%)**

Self-esteem guru John Vasconcellos has been in the Assembly for 22 years. He has headed the Ways and Means Committee for all of the 1980s. He has great affection for the lower house, great respect for the institution of the Assembly, and the current row among Assembly Democrats must be especially painful. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (55% D - 33% R)

Cortese (D*)	**34,132**	**(100%)**
Norred (R)	**15,229**	**(65%)**
Rodriguez (R)	3,080	(13%)
Sandoval (R)	5,222	(22%)

Dom Cortese has a new challenger in 1988 after rancher Buck Norred beat teacher Jack Sandoval, who twice lost to Cortese. The difference is the difference in a name, for the incumbent goes about his work in a quiet and efficient manner and is not threatened at this point by any Republican. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (54% D - 35% R)

Areias (D*)	**29,781**	**(100%)**
Garcia (R)	6,005	(29%)
Gilmore (R)	**14,441**	**(71%)**
Hinkle (L)	**100**	**(100%)**

Ben Gilmore is a Morgan Hill businessman who has been running hard for over a year to unseat Rusty Areias. But running hard isn't enough. Areias is a member of the Assembly's Gang of Five, and his opposition to Willie Brown has strengthened an already-popular incumbent in his home district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

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DISTRICT 26 (57% D - 35% R)

Johnston (D*)	**33,648**	**(100%)**
Correll (R)	**21,210**	**(100%)**

Another central valley district that on paper looks as though Republicans ought to pose a challenge but which is represented by a popular Democratic incumbent. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 27 (54% D - 37% R)

Condit (D*)	**29,056**	**(100%)**

We say Condit returns to the Assembly. That's going way out on a limb. Which is just about where the Gang of Five incumbent is vis-a-vis his Democratic colleagues. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 28 (54% D - 32% R)

Farr (D*)	**48,402**	**(100%)**
Skillicorn (R)	**26,303**	**(100%)**

Ever-popular Sam Farr always runs well ahead of registration. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (41% D - 47% R)

Bradford (D)	**16,414**	**(54%)**
Comstock (D)	14,213	(46%)
Seastrand (R*)	**40,212**	**(100%)**

No Democrat will ever pry Eric Seastrand out of this district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 30 (63% D - 29% R)

Costa (D*)	**25,492**	**(100%)**
Hurt (R)	**12,832**	**(100%)**

Just before the 1986 election, incumbent Costa was arrested in Sacramento for soliciting a prostitute. He won reelection handily, which tells you something about Republican Gerald Hurt's chances come November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (59% D - 34% R)

Bronzan (D*)	**32,873**	**(100%)**
Haaland (R)	**17,121**	**(100%)**

Bronzan will coast. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (45% D - 46% R)

Windham (D)	**24,163**	**(100%)**
Jones (R*)	**33,634**	**(100%)**

Yawn, stretch, snooze. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 33 (51% D - 41% R)

Powell (D)	**20,842**	**(100%)**
Harvey (R*)	**23,719**	**(100%)**

You never know where or when Democrats will throw a few million dollars worth of campaign cash at an incumbent. But if you were a betting person, you might watch this race. Sure, the numbers don't look good for a Democrat. And sure, incumbent Harvey is a charming, sharp-witted country boy who is well-liked and gregarious. But incumbent Harvey made a motion to oust Speaker Willie Brown during a raucous Assembly session earlier this year, embarrassing the speaker and causing simmering rifts to erupt in the Republican caucus as well. If Democrats have some spare change, we wouldn't be surprised to see them toss it in Mike Powell's coin purse. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 34 (43% D -47% R)

Wilson (D)	**27,439**	**(100%)**
Wyman (R*)	**36,000**	**(100%)**
Baucum (L)	**111**	**(100%)**

Phil Wyman could win this election blindfolded, and with one hand tied behind his

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back, and standing on one foot, and, and ... SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 35 (50% D - 37% R)

O'Connell (D*)	**35,603**	**(100%)**
Bakhaus (L)	**148**	**(100%)**

Psst. Pass it on. There's a Republican write-in candidate running in this district, and he gathered far more than the 900+ votes needed to earn a spot on the ballot. His name: Jack O'Connell. SAFE, er, DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 36 (39% D - 50% R)

Webb (D)	**24,495**	**(100%)**
McClintock (R*)	**36,031**	**(100%)**
Driscoll (L)	**158**	**(100%)**

McClintock returns for his fourth term, and he's still only 32 years old. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 37 (38% D - 52% R)

Marcus (D)	**24,742**	**(100%)**
Wright (R*)	**37,050**	**(100%)**
Bachvansky (L)	**128**	**(100%)**

A solid, solid district for Cathie Wright. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 38 (42% D - 49% R)

Lit (D)	**26,669**	**(100%)**
LaFollette (R*)	**32,632**	**(100%)**

Democrat Lit is going to lose again to incumbent LaFollette. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 39 (58% D - 33% R)

Katz (D*)	**26,821**	**(100%)**
Rendleman (R)	**13,591**	**(100%)**
Newton (L)	**63**	**(100%)**

An easy ride for the chairman of the Assembly Transportation Committee, who must come back to Sacramento and help grapple with an amazing array of transportation problems facing the state. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 40 (56% D - 35% R)

Bane (D*)	**34,299**	**(100%)**
Dahl (R)	**15,506**	**(100%)**
Prah (L)	**122**	**(100%)**

Dahl, who lost the GOP primary in 1986, gets his turn against Bane. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 41 (41% D - 50% R)

Vollbrecht (D)	**22,492**	**(100%)**
Nolan (R*)	**36,919**	**(100%)**
Helms (L)	**141**	**(100%)**
Kasimoff (P&F)	**76**	**(100%)**

All in all, it has been an interesting spring for Pat Nolan the Assembly's minority leader. He wants very much to be speaker, and wants very much to knock Willie Brown down a peg or two. But on more than one occasion, he found himself rallying the troops to defend Brown from challenges by the Gang of Five. This caused a rift inside the GOP caucus as more militant Republicans argued for a plan, any plan, that would dump Brown. Nolan stuck by the speaker, but he'll return to Sacramento after this election faced with a grumpy caucus eager to flex its muscle. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (40% D - 51% R)

Boyle (D)	**22,097**	**(100%)**
Mountjoy (R*)	**35,161**	**(100%)**

Ten years in the Assembly and counting for Richard Mountjoy. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 43 (54% D - 36% R)

Friedman (D*)	**44,092**	**(100%)**
Brown (R)	5,301	(28%)
Franklin (R)	**13,545**	**(72%)**
Leet (L)	**133**	**(100%)**
Hinds (P&F)	**71**	**(100%)**

This district used to be represented by state Controller Gray Davis. Now, the incumbent is Terry Friedman. We can't think of two more diverse Democrats in terms of temperament and reputation. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 44 (59% D - 30% R)

Hayden (D*)	**42,384**	**(79%)**
Cota (D)	6,889	(13%)
Kurdi (D)	4,216	(8%)
Stout (R)	**19,476**	**(100%)**

Some voters will always cast a ballot against Tom Hayden, but the days when he has to spend a million dollars of Jane Fonda's money to defend himself are over. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 45 (59% D - 29% R)

Margolin (D*)	**36,025**	**(100%)**
Frankel (R)	**14,171**	**(100%)**
Fausto (P&F)	**84**	**(100%)**

A quiet election. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 46 (61% D - 27% R)

Roos (D*)	**15,858**	**(87%)**
Genovese (D)	2,344	(13%)
Passi (R)	1,693	(27%)
Trias (R)	**4,610**	**(73%)**
Lake (L)	**74**	**(100%)**
Taves (P&F)	**70**	**(100%)**

Democrat Genovese promised an aggressive campaign, featuring his own record as a community activist. Instead, he issued a steady stream of press releases attacking incumbent Roos for a variety of alleged sins that have been thoroughly investigated and come to naught. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 47 (82% D - 11% R)

Hughes (D*)	**25,490**	**(100%)**
Riley (L)	**11**	**(100%)**

SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 48 (84% D - 10% R)

Waters (D*)	**33,597**	**(92%)**
Green-Geter (D)	2,753	(8%)

A disappointing showing for Green-Geter. An enormous vote of confidence for Maxine Waters. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 49 (73% D - 19% R)

Moore (D*)	**55,535**	**(100%)**
Givens (R)	**10,165**	**(100%)**

Givens lost by 50,000 votes in 1984. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 50 (77% D - 16% R)

Tucker (D*)	**38,664**	**(77%)**
Tabor (D)	11,866	(24%)
Davis (R)	**7,966**	**(100%)**

Dan Tabor is a bright, promising young politician, but 1988 was not his year to unseat an incumbent. Mostly, it was not his year because Assembly Democrats rallied around one of their own and Tabor was badly outspent. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 51 (37% D - 52% R)

Wirth (D)	**25,821**	**(100%)**
Felando (R*)	**25,046**	**(56%)**
Dana (R)	19,478	(44%)
Dobson (L)	**181**	**(100%)**

A scary primary for incumbent Gerald Felando, who brought this exercise in survival upon himself by publicly toying with running for the congressional seat held by Treasurer-designate Dan Lungren. That brought Deane Dana III into the hunt for Felando's Assembly seat. However, when Felando decided to seek reelection to the Assembly, Dana did not withdraw. The challenger got a lot of publicity and more than $700,000 from his namesake father, an LA County supervisor whose district partially overlaps the 51st Assembly District. Throughout the primary, Dana hammered at Felando's refusal to join dissident Democrats in ousting Willie Brown as speaker. Felando got some round-about financial help from

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Brown's Democratic allies, as well as abundant support from Assembly Republican colleagues. The bi-partisan trail of money to Felando points up the coziness between Assembly incumbents, regardless of party. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 52 (44% D - 47% R)

Perkins (D)	**19,170**	**(100%)**
Hill (R*)	**28,622**	**(100%)**

SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 53 (60% D - 29% R)

Floyd (D*)	**30,341**	**(100%)**
Bookhammer (R)	**12,282**	**(100%)**

As Republicans proved two years ago, overwhelming Democratic registration is no guarantee for Dick Floyd. In 1986 the GOP poured a lot of last-minute money into this district, including a letter purported to be from President Ronald Reagan that all but accused Floyd of being in cahoots with drug smugglers. Although the letter was a fake, it forced Floyd to spend a bundle to defend himself. There is no reason to assume a similar eleventh-hour ambush won't happen again on behalf of Chuck Bookhammer, a Hawthorne city councilman. To unseat Floyd, however, Republicans will have to spend, and the campaign will have to be nasty. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 54 (65% D - 27% R)

Murray (D)	**25,709**	**(68%)**
Ralph (D)	11,942	(32%)
Zeltner (R*)	**14,304**	**(100%)**

Willard Murray, a congressional aide to Mervyn Dymally, provided Assembly Speaker Willie Brown with one of his bright spots on an otherwise dim primary night. Murray rather handily defeated former Assemblyman Leon Ralph, a long-time Brown nemesis. But whether Murray can defeat the Republican incumbent is another story. Until 1986 the district was represented by Demo-

Zeltner **Murray**

crats. But when incumbent Frank Vicencia retired, Republican Paul Zeltner won the open seat against a Black candidate. Murray, too, is Black, and some observers claim that a Black cannot carry blue-collar communities like Bellflower and Lakewood no matter how many voters register as Democrats. Republicans are confident they can retain the district but harbor no illusions that it will be cheap to do so. TOSSUP.

DISTRICT 55 (67% D - 22% R)

Polanco (D*)	**20,859**	**(100%)**
Wilson (L)	**77**	**(100%)**
Alarcon (P&F)	**116**	**(71%)**
De Santiago (P&F)	48	(29%)

The contested Peace and Freedom primary had no bearing on who will represent this district in Sacramento. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 56 (76% D - 14% R)

Roybal-Allard (D*)	**14,241**	**(100%)**
Sheldon (R)	**2,043**	**(100%)**
Munoz (P&F)	**35**	**(100%)**

Roybal-Allard spent a quiet freshman year after replacing former Assemblywoman Gloria Molina mid-term. Capitol observers say she may blossom during her next go-around. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 57 (61% D - 28% R)

Elder (D*)	**27,290**	**(100%)**
Ball (R)	**10,984**	**(100%)**
Bellock (P&F)	**54**	**(100%)**

Dave Elder returns for his sixth term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 58 (40% D - 49% R)

Kincaid (D)	**25,593**	**(100%)**
Brown (R*)	**34,818**	**(100%)**
Stier (L)	**202**	**(100%)**
Green (P&F)	**84**	**(100%)**

A blow-out for the Assembly's other Brown — Dennis. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 59 (63% D - 27% R)

Calderon (D*)	**28,609**	**(100%)**
Pencall (L)	**48**	**(100%)**

Gang of Five member Calderon has no challenge. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 60 (61% D - 30% R)

Tanner (D*)	**20,747**	**(100%)**
Velasco (R)	**9,679**	**(100%)**
Argall (L)	**47**	**(100%)**

A funny thing happened to Republicans between January and May — their registration fell while the Democrats' rose. Not good news for Henry Velasco, the former El Monte councilman who has an uphill battle against Tanner. The district is 54 percent Latino, which should help Velasco but not enough to offset Democratic registration. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 61 (40% D - 49% R)

Ford (D)	**25,639**	**(100%)**
Craig (R)	737	(2%)
de Mirjyn (R)	3,336	(8%)
Hansberger (R)	9,010	(21%)
Johnson (R)	3,349	(8%)
Lawson (R)	3,979	(10%)
Lewis (R)	10,351	(25%)
Woodruff (R)	**11,284**	**(27%)**
Harbour (L)	**123**	**(100%)**

This election was decided in the Republican primary, and what a primary. The incumbent, Bill Leonard, vacated the seat to run for the state Senate, leaving the sprawling, San Bernardino County district to a host of GOP wanna-bes. Not surprisingly, the candidates with the most "connection" finished one-two: Woodruff, a Leonard aide who had the support of many Assembly Republicans; and Lewis, brother of local Congressman Jerry Lewis. Their money overwhelmed such local elected luminaries as De Mirjyn and Johnson. Despite being roughed up in the primary, Woodruff, 28, will come to Sacramento as the youngest member of the Legislature. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 62 (42% D - 49% R)

Wendt (D)	**23,321**	**(100%)**
Lancaster (R*)	**32,609**	**(100%)**
Polson (L)	**86**	**(100%)**

Lancaster has been in the Assembly since 1972. Wendt won't retire him. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 63 (57% D - 35% R)

Epple (D)	**18,333**	**(58%)**
Lujan (D)	1,972	(6%)
Ohanesian (D)	10,416	(33%)
Story (D)	939	(3%)
Grisham (R*)	**15,180**	**(78%)**
Hardeman (R)	4,205	(22%)

Assembly Democrats spared no expense to ensure a victory by Bob Epple over Pete Ohanesian. Ohanesian was viewed as an enemy because of his close association with Gang of Five member Charles Calderon. Thus, his defeat was an imperative show of force by allies of Speaker Willie Brown. They poured gobs of money into Epple's campaign, plus caucus politicos trooped into Norwalk, Cerritos, Downey and other district towns to lend expertise to Epple's effort. Ohanesian suffered because the Gang of Five was forced to spend their limited resources in an effort to save one of their own (see 66th District below). On the Republican side, incumbent Wayne Gris-

Grisham **Epple**

ham is perceived as vulnerable due to his poor showing in a special state Senate election last year against Cecil Green. His vulnerability was accented in this election. First, Grisham's old campaign manager, Dale Hardeman, announced against him. Although Hardeman bowed to pressure and did not run an active campaign, he still gathered nearly a quarter of the vote. The November election thus promises to be one of the most expensive anywhere in the galaxy. TOSSUP.

DISTRICT 64 (36% D - 54% R)

Heuer (D)	**18,042**	**(100%)**
Johnson (R*)	**29,978**	**(84%)**
Newton (R)	5,836	(16%)

Ross Johnson's most stunning June victory took place as a co-sponsor of the successful campaign-reform initiative, Proposition 73. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 65 (42% D - 48% R)

Chamberlain (D)	**20,988**	**(100%)**
Bader (R*)	**28,504**	**(100%)**
Gautreau (L)	**90**	**(100%)**

SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 66 (58% D - 33% R)

Eaves (D*)	**18,417**	**(56%)**
Baca (D)	14,754	(45%)
Masters (R)	**14,304**	**(100%)**
Snare (L)	**67**	**(100%)**

Never underestimate the ability of otherwise reputable men and women to become ethical gangsters when politics is involved and the political stakes are high. In this very nasty primary, Gang of Five cohort Gerald Eaves was challenged by community col-

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lege trustee Joe Baca. Speaker Willie Brown unleashed members of his inner circle who went after Eaves with a vengance, for he provided the only real opportunity to punish a Gang member at the polls. Eaves was thoroughly trashed during the campaign. Ugly rumors surfaced, accusing the incumbent of wife-beating and of being a convicted child molester and drunk driver. Eaves was also hit with a last-minute mailer, a fake endorsement of Baca purportedly by

Eaves

Masters

U.S. Senator Ted Kennedy. Baca acknowledged the fraudulent letter only days before the primary and fired the campaign staffer he said was responsible for it. But the damage had been done. With the election's foul smell lingering in the air, Eaves must now square off against Republican David Masters, a Fontana attorney, who was able to sit back and watch from the comfort of an uncontested primary. This is by no means a safe Democratic district, and Republicans may feel Eaves has been permanently damaged despite his eventual primary triumph. With a lot of campaign money to be spent before the end of the year, Eaves' troubles could be just beginning. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 67 (31% D - 59% R)

Fink (D)	**17,195**	**(100%)**
Lewis (R*)	**41,020**	**(100%)**

No contest. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 68 (54% D - 37% R)

Clute (D*)	**31,823**	**(100%)**
Carroll (R)	**13,869**	**(56%)**
Lynn (R)	11,112	(45%)

No rest for Steve Clute, who once again is the Republicans' number-one statewide target. On the plus side for Clute, the GOP primary turned nasty as two former allies

Clute

squared off. Brian Carroll, the winner, had been opponent Bob Lynn's campaign treasurer before striking out for the nomination on his own. This caused hurt feelings and a bickering campaign. Still, Clute must expect he will draw a vaultful of Republican money to the Riverside area, forcing Assembly Democrats to answer in kind. Gentlemen, the spending lamp is lit. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 69 (33% D - 55% R)

Fennell (D)	**19,649**	**(100%)**
Frizzelle (R*)	**38,067**	**(100%)**

SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 70 (28% D - 62% R)

Gallups (D)	**22,601**	**(100%)**
Ferguson (R*)	**39,694**	**(60%)**
Hart (R)	22,002	(33%)
Mang (R)	4,167	(6%)

Incumbent Gil Ferguson need not fear his Democratic opponent, but he should note that 40 percent of the Republicans in his district wanted someone else to represent them in Sacramento. Could it be that Orange County voters are growing weary of an assemblyman whose major claim to fame is bashing Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda? Newport Beach Mayor pro Tem Evelyn Hart gave a credible showing against a well-heeled incumbent and will be heard from. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 71 (43% D - 48% R)

Brown (D)	**20,885**	**(100%)**
Allen (R*)	**26,892**	**(100%)**

Zzzzzzz. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 72 (51% D - 39% R)

Thierbach (D)	**14,492**	**(100%)**
Longshore (R*)	**13,567**	**(100%)**

Incumbent Longshore died of pneumonia only one day after winning this primary. Now, the Orange County Republican Committee will nominate a successor to run against Thierbach. No matter who is nominated, this will be an expensive race for what is now an open seat. Democrats held the district until 1986 when incumbent Richard Robinson decided to run for Congress rather than face certain defeat at the hands of his long-time nemesis, Longshore. Democrats think they can win it back and will be willing to spend a million or so to prove themselves right. TOSSUP.

DISTRICT 73 (41% D - 50% R)

Parker (D)	**28,120**	**(100%)**
Kelley (R*)	**40,339**	**(100%)**
Beers (L)	**113**	**(100%)**

A Kelley romp. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 74 (32% D - 55% R)

Melville (D)	**20,186**	**(100%)**
Frazee (R*)	**43,702**	**(100%)**
Flanagan (L)	**174**	**(100%)**

Just about as Republican as it gets. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 75 (34% D - 51% R)

Chilton (D)	10,069	(40%)
Christian (D)	**15,312**	**(60%)**
Mojonnier (R*)	**40,613**	**(100%)**
Murphy (L)	**223**	**(100%)**
Schoenberg (P&F)	**46**	**(100%)**

SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 76 (33% D - 54% R)

Harman (D)	**25,390**	**(100%)**
Bradley (R*)	**47,430**	**(100%)**
Holmes (L)	**179**	**(100%)**

SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 77 (38% D - 50% R)

Hornreich (D)	**21,980**	**(100%)**
Bentley (R)	**19,240**	**(55%)**
McColl (R)	15,662	(45%)
Deutsch (L)	**118**	**(100%)**

Larry Stirling is running for the state Senate, leaving this district wide open. Stirling planned to stay out of the race but eventually endorsed Carol Bentley. An aide to retiring state Senator Jim Ellis, Bentley is considered far more conservative than Gloria McColl, a councilwoman from San Diego. This election was decided in the Republican primary, and Democrat Sam Hornreich, an attorney from El Cajon, won't come close. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 78 (46% D - 40% R)

Killea (D*)	**30,455**	**(100%)**
Wear (R)	**23,341**	**(100%)**
McMillen (L)	**187**	**(100%)**

Two years ago Democratic registration actually dipped below that of Republicans in this San Diego district, but incumbent Lucy Killea won an impressive victory nonetheless. A former San Diego city councilwoman, Killea has always drawn strong bi-partisan support. Still, the three-term incumbent can never rest easy. If Republicans reasonably expect to control the Assembly by 1990, they must win districts like Killea's. To that end, the GOP has recruited community activist Byron Wear to carry its standard. Wear's only elective try to date was a losing race for the San Diego City Council in 1987. Although outspent, the 33-year-old busi-

Longshore

Killea

nessman was able to force a run-off, thus building name recognition throughout the city. Democrats can expect a tough and expensive race where their prime asset remains the incumbent's personal popularity. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 79 (59% D - 29% R)

Chacon (D*)	**24,312**	**(100%)**
Gahn (R)	**10,543**	**(100%)**
Shea (L)	**85**	**(100%)**

Republicans need not apply. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 80 (52% D - 36% R)

Peace (D*)	**22,425**	**(100%)**
Baldwin (R)	**17,280**	**(100%)**
Myrseth (L)	**62**	**(100%)**

Another Gang of Fiver that both Assembly Democrats and Republicans would like to see vanish into political oblivion. But Chula Vista businessman Steve Baldwin isn't about to retire the brilliant, if volatile Peace. Talk of an independent challenge to Peace, sponsored and fueled by Assembly Democrats, is thus far just that — talk. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

Research on demographics was compiled by *California Journal* intern Anthony Kohlenberger, a student from California State University, Fullerton. Registration figures and candidate listings were provided by the secretary of state's office.

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CALIFORNIA HOUSING FINANCE AGENCY

Housing for the poor?

By Lisa Winstead

At a time when many Californians are homeless and even more can't find affordable housing, many state lawmakers and advocates for the poor are critical of the California Housing Finance Agency's (CHFA) efforts to meet that need.

The CHFA was created by the state Legislature in 1975 to help low- and middle-income Californians rent or buy housing. It does this by issuing tax-exempt revenue bonds which, when sold, create a pool of money for developers and prospective home buyers. The agency itself does not lend money directly, but provides financing through private lending institutions such as banks, savings and loans, and mortgage companies. The agency also administers federal rent subsidies to low-income tenants from the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

According to its critics, the CHFA has concentrated on loaning money to middle-income home buyers to the exclusion of those who would provide housing for low-income apartment dwellers. Agency officials concede the point but blame the federal government, which they say has cut back funding for low-income housing programs and done away with tax incentives to developers who build rental housing.

Meanwhile, the Legislature has stepped into the picture by creating yet another pool of money from the sale of general obligation bonds, with a large chunk of those funds dedicated to creating low-income housing. This money is admin-

Lisa Winstead is a California Journal *intern.*

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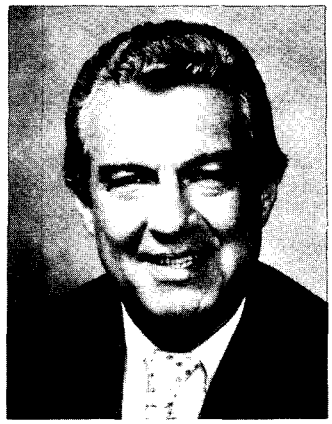
istered by the state Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD).

Thus, the state is trying to attack the housing shortage with two different kinds of bonds issued by two separate agencies. The CHFA issues revenue bonds paid back with money generated by such things as developer fees. The HCD issues general-obligation bonds paid back by taxpayers through the state general fund.

The Housing Finance Agency was originally created to finance the construction of rental units and the purchase of homes for low- and middle-income Californians. In recent years, however, the agency's emphasis has changed from creating apartments, used predominantly by those on the low end of the income scale, to lending money for the construction and purchase of homes by middle-income buyers. For example, in 1987 the agency lent money for 4519 homes and 813 apartment units, compared with 1358 homes and 2987 apartment units in 1983. It is this shift of emphasis that has drawn fire from critics who represent the poor.


Hodge

Marc Brown, an attorney and housing advocate for the poor, said the agency is more concerned about its bond ratings than its social responsibility to provide housing to those with very low incomes.

Karney Hodge, CHFA executive director, agrees that his agency is concerned with its bond rating, but says an AAA rating makes it possible to provide more housing at a lower price.

Agency officials blame the federal government for their dilemma. According to Hodge, the agency has been hampered by changing federal regulations and tax laws and has trouble finding developers willing to build housing for the poor. CHFA officials say the Reagan administration cut back on subsidies to developers and claim that those subsidies helped defer the cost of rent for tenants. According to a congressional report on housing, the administration cut housing assistance funds by 60 percent between 1981 and 1985, from $32 billion to $10 billion, "the biggest reduction in any single program."

Housing advocate Marc Brown concedes that the federbeen hurt by the 1986 Federal Tax Reform which reduced by 30 percent per year the number of tax-exempt bonds available to be issued by the state. This means, they say, that less money is available to loan out for apartments or homes. In addition, the tax reform eliminated various other tax incentives for developers.

"Tax incentives are not there as they once were for builders," said Hodge, referring to decreased allowances in building depreciation tax write-offs.

Housing Advocate Marc Brown concedes that the federal tax law has reduced federal tax incentives for developers of rental units, "but rather than withdraw from the market, the CHFA should have tapped its own reserves to help promote rental housing development." According to Brown, the agency has a surplus of money accumulated before the 1986 Federal Tax Reform, which prohibited housing agencies from keeping large sums of money for more than three years.

Agency officials say they do not have such a surplus, a position backed by the Legislative Analyst. According to Mac Taylor of the Analyst's office, what looked like a surplus was actually "monies which were in some way there to meet an indenture provision."

The housing problem will not soon go away. Many rental units now dedicated for low-income housing throughout the state were built with HUD subsidies. According to the terms of those subsidies, the rentals had to remain low-rent for up to 20 years but could then be leased at market rates. "In many instances, that 20 years is up," said Hodge.

The Legislature, concerned about the growing shortage

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of affordable housing and rental units, decided to create more money for housing and not rely on the federal government or its subsidies. To this end, lawmakers placed a bond measure (Proposition 77) on the June 1988 ballot, as well as similar bond measures on the ballot in November 1988 and November 1990. Proposition 77 passed in June. All three bond measures authorize the sale of general obligation bonds to fill in the gap left by federal cutbacks. These bonds total $600 million: $150 in Proposition 77, and the balance in November 1988 and 1990. Those bonds, however, are not to be issued by the CHFA, which may only deal with revenue bonds.

The CHFA issues revenue bonds which are sold on the open market to investors. This creates a pool of money to be loaned for construction. The agency also sets the rate at which that money can be loaned, ranging from .5 to 3 percentage points below the conventional loan rate offered by commercial lending institutions. Many of the same institutions — qualified banks, savings and loans, mortgage companies — also handle CHFA loans, providing the money to borrowers at a lower rate. The savings are then passed on to builders and home buyers. In the case of rental units, the savings are supposedly passed on to tenants.

Year-by-year with the CHFA

CALENDAR YEAR	MULTI-FAMILY UNITS	SINGLE-FAMILY LOANS	REHAB. UNITS
1977	0	1934	0
1978	673	3084	0
1979	1205	3048	0
1980	1728	2365	0
1981	1945	225	0
1982	1023	8	0
1983	2987	1358	0
1984	1229	5148	0
1985	1094	3024	237
1986	1002	1243	649
1987	813	4519	717

Since 1975 the agency has issued $3,632,807,308 worth of bonds, with $2,571,705,331 yet to be issued. This so far has resulted in 13,772 rental units, 26,403 homes, and 1603 rehabilitated units.

But this effort, say critics, has not benefited the poor. Says Marc Brown, "They [the CHFA] have tied their own hands behind their backs and have refused to address significant segments of the population." Brown complains that the agency has focused on single-family homes for upper-middle and middle-income home buyers who do not need state assistance, while low-income households have been neglected.

Authority officials agree their emphasis lately has been on more middle-income housing, but they can they can do little to change that.

Agency officials agree that their emphasis lately has been on more middle-income housing but say they can do little to change that.

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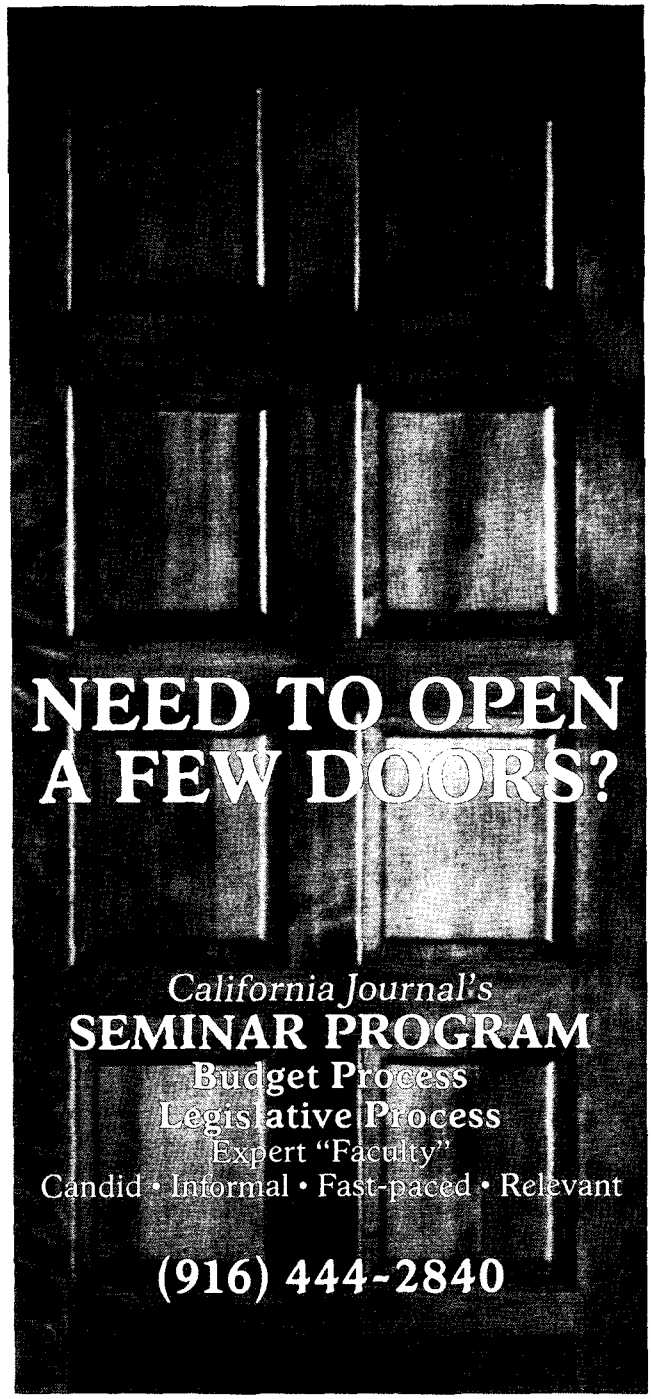

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Washington

In 1974, with the corruption of Watergate devastating the Republicans, voters a continent apart elected two Democratic governors with a lot in common.

BOTH WERE BRIGHT, brash and young. Both were contemptuous of old ways and politics as usual. Both made a fetish of frugality, as the governor in California chose a simple Plymouth over a limousine and the one in Massachusetts rode the trolley to work.

Of course, there were differences. California's Jerry Brown had a restless curiosity and an interest in unconventional ideas and people that was soon characterized as flaky. Massachusetts' Mike Dukakis was so conventional a personality, so buttoned-down bland, that his worst image was one of arrogance.

Both would run for president, although at different times and with far different results.

Brown made an audacious entry into presidential politics in 1976, competing in the late Democratic primaries. He was easily re-elected governor in 1978, ran for president again in 1980, then was defeated for the U.S. Senate by Pete Wilson in 1982. Brown has been out of work politically ever since.

By contrast, of course, Dukakis waited a long time to enter presidential politics. It was worth the wait for the son of Greek immigrants who is claiming his party's nomination in Atlanta.

For Dukakis, the key to his later success may have been his very public humiliation in 1978. The same year Brown coasted to reelection, Dukakis was tossed out of office by the voters of his state.

Inheriting a deficit when he came into office, Dukakis first alienated liberals by cutting social programs and then everybody else by breaking his campaign pledge not to raise taxes. His smugness and arrogance alienated legislators, special interests and, eventually, voters.

"He didn't always listen as well as he should have," recalled Dukakis' wife Kitty.

Dukakis was stunned when he was defeated in his own party's primary by conservative Democrat Ed King. Kitty Dukakis has called her husband's defeat a "public death."

"It was just such a painful period for him," she said. "It was a public humiliation. Michael felt he had done the damage to himself. He did not look for scapegoats."

Instead, Dukakis lined up a teaching job at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and systematically reshaped his way of dealing with people and problems. He developed a less-confrontational style of governing by consensus and compromise.

"One of the things that came from that was a stronger, tougher leader in the best sense — one who builds coalitions and listens to people," said his wife.

Having sentenced Dukakis to political purgatory, the voters of Massachusetts were willing to take him back after he had served his time. Dukakis won a rematch against King in 1982 and was resoundingly reelected in 1986, as he geared up his presidential campaign.

Unquestionably, the remodeled Dukakis — known in his state as "Dukakis II" — has been a popular and successful governor, although there are still critics. Some liberals say Dukakis is now so wary of conflict or controversy that he hides behind bland compromise politics they call "consensomania."

"He needs to make up his mind sometimes about which side he's on," said Sanford Lewis, an environmental lawyer who believes Dukakis engineered a weak public-disclosure law on toxic waste for fear of offending high-tech industry. "Dukakis has not been a leader on hazardous waste. Instead, he waits and responds to pressure."

Others say Dukakis is as arrogant and ambitious as ever, that his humble and conciliatory new image is purely cosmetic.

"He wants to win. That's all it's about," said Beryl Cohen, an old friend who felt betrayed back in 1970 when Dukakis jumped into a race against Cohen for lieutenant governor. "His primary task has been to play it safe and offend as few people as possible."

Dukakis has instituted widely praised programs to reform welfare, crack down on tax cheats, encourage high-tech development and, this year, to guarantee health insurance for every resident of his state.

Most of all, Dukakis II has become known as the steward of his state's finances and economic growth, the pro-business governor who boasts of his role in the "Massachusetts Miracle."

It's ironic. Instead of looking like Jerry Brown, these days Dukakis looks more like California's current Republican governor, George Deukmejian. Both have cultivated reputations as bland but reliable managers of their state economies.

That reputation also has its pitfalls. A governor who takes credit when his state's economy is booming can't avoid blame when there is trouble, even though both the successes and failures may have much more to do with forces in the national and even international economy.

THIS YEAR, DEMOCRAT DUKAKIS AND Republican Deukmejian have both been struggling against embarrassing state revenue shortages that tarnish their reputations as fiscal wizards. Their shared difficulties create a ticklish problem for Republican presidential candidate George Bush, who is eager to capitalize on Dukakis' fiscal setback without making fun of his friend Deukmejian.

Struggling to make a distinction, Bush recently came up with this: "Governor Deukmejian isn't going across this country talking about the California Miracle. He's a sound, sensible governor. He's not one to say there is never any deficit problem. He's not one that says you wave a magic wand and everything is perfect in his state, although he's done a superb job."

Larry Liebert is the Washington bureau chief for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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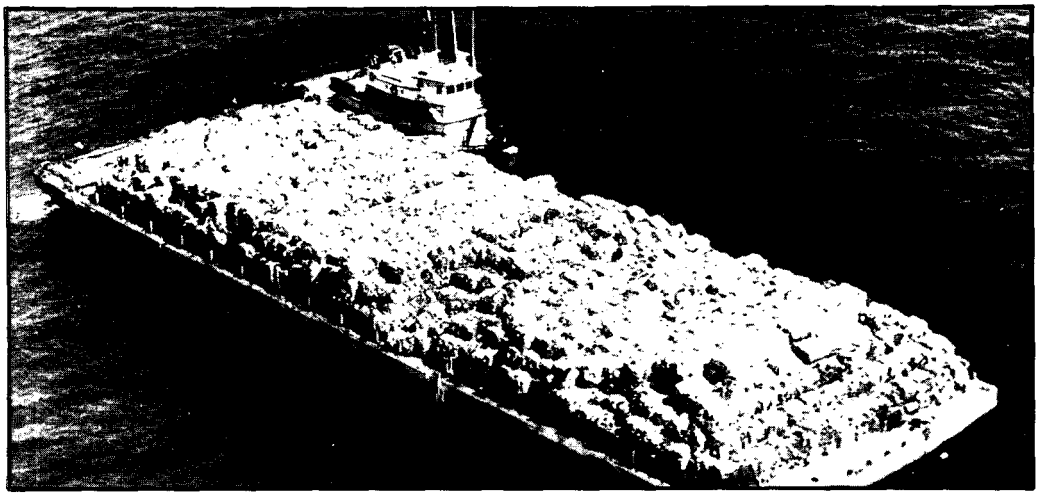

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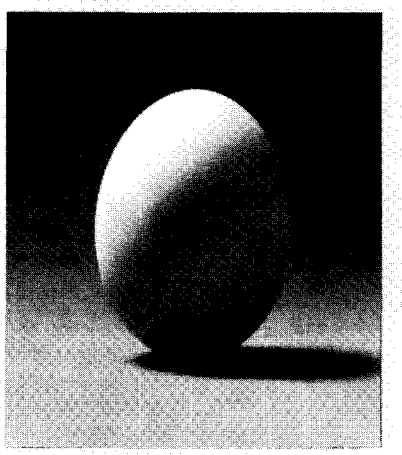

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